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Inter-Arab Affairs

Gulf Cooperation Council Summit Concludes

'Abu Dhabi Declaration'

JN2312165992 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1430 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Abu Dhabi, 23 Dec (WAKH)—Their majesties and highnesses, the leaders of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] states, have stressed their commitment to the principles contained in the Kuwait Declaration, which was issued following the 12th GCC summit. This came in the Abu Dhabi Declaration issued by the 13th GCC summit. [passage omitted]

The following is the text of the Abu Dhabi Declaration issued by the 13th GCC summit:

Proceeding from the spirit of the one Gulf family, common destiny, and the march of collective Gulf action; out of the GCC states' concern for entrenching the spirit of cooperation and cohesion, and for bolstering coordination among them in all political, security, economic, and social fields to arrive at an advanced phase of integration among themselves; based on the objectives and principles included in the GCC bylaws entrenched by the GCC leaders; in light of the current events and changes in the Arab and international arenas, which necessitate that the GCC states deal with them from a collective, unified viewpoint which takes into consideration the higher interests of the Arab and Islamic nations and their fateful issues; and within the framework of their adherence to the principles and objectives embodied by the charters and resolutions of the Arab League, the Damascus Declaration, the Islamic Conference Organization, and the United Nations, their majesties and highnesses declare the following:

1. They reiterate their commitment to the principles included in the Kuwait Declaration, issued by the 12th GCC summit.

2. The GCC member states' regional and international dealings are based on respect for the principle of good neighborliness as a basic and legal rule, for the states' independence and sovereignty over their territories, and respect for the principle of noninterference in their internal affairs and for each state's sovereignty over its resources.

3. Their adoption of the principle of dialogue and negotiation as a basic means to settle conflicts among states, in accordance with the UN Charter and international law and norms; rejection of the principle of threatening to use force in relations among states; and their abidance by the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of land by force. Within this framework, the GCC leaders emphasize the United Arab Emirates's [UAE] sovereignty over the islands of Tunb al-Kubra, Tunb al-Sughra, and Abu Musa, and consider them an integral part of the UAE. They also affirm their categorical rejection of the continued occupation of these islands by the Islamic Republic of Iran.

4. The GCC stresses its concern with supporting efforts to develop the defense and security capabilities of the GCC states in a way to achieve regional security and stability.

5. Coordination and cooperation among the GCC states constitute one of the lines of joint Arab action, which must be based on new foundations that guarantee respect for and abidance by existing charters and treaties among Arab states within the framework of the Arab League. Based on this, the GCC states stress their commitment to the principles and objectives included in the Damascus Declaration, especially since it constitutes a new formula for the concept of joint Arab action and serious Arab solidarity.

6. The GCC expresses support for Arab and international efforts to reach a just, comprehensive, and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem, based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principles of international legitimacy, in a manner to achieve Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territory and to restore the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, including their right to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state.

7. The GCC supports international efforts to alleviate the suffering of the fraternal Somali people, and calling on the international community to interfere immediately to stop the annihilation operations against the people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and extend urgent humanitarian aid to them.

Issued in Abu Dhabi on 29 Jumada al-Akhirah 1413 Hegira, corresponding to 23 December 1992.

Final Statement

JN2312131492 Abu Dhabi United Arab Emirates Radio Network in Arabic 1102 GMT 23 Dec 92

["Final statement" issued by the 13th summit of the Gulf Cooperation Council, GCC, at the conclusion of the summit's final session held at the Abu Dhabi Intercontinental Hotel, read by an unidentified official—live]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Final statement issued by the 13th summit of the Supreme Council of the GCC states.

In response to the kind invitation of His Highness Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan, president of the United Arab Emirates [UAE], the Supreme Council of the Gulf Cooperation Council states held its 13th summit in Abu Dhabi 27-29 Jumada al-Akirah, 1413 of the hegira, corresponding to 21-23 December 1992, in the presence of their majesties and highnesses: His Highness Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al-Nuhayyan, president of the UAE; His Highness Shaykh 'Isa Bin-Salman Al Khalifah, the amir of the State of Bahrain; the

custodian of the two holy mosques, King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud, king of Saudi Arabia; His Majesty Sultan Qabus Bin-Sa'id of Oman; His Highness Shaykh Khalifah Bin-Hamad Al Thani, the amir of the State of Qatar; and His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, the amir of the State of Kuwait.

The progress of the GCC:

The Supreme Council discussed the progress of the GCC in all its aspects in light of the results and recommendations reached by the ministerial committee and the ministerial council. It discussed the steps that will ensure strengthening the march of cooperation and integration, out of its firm conviction in the unity of aims and destiny and in accordance with the aims defined by the GCC basic law.

And, while expressing satisfaction with what has been realized in this blessed march, the Supreme Council expresses its eagerness to realize the aspirations of the people of this region, enabling it to face all regional and international challenges and developments, which make it inevitable that this fraternal framework of cooperation and integration be strengthened, to overcome obstacles that obstruct the path of joint action, and to take all the necessary measures to promote it to advanced positions in all fields of cooperation.

Implementing the Security Council resolutions pertaining to the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait:

The Supreme Council discussed the political and security developments in the Gulf region and the progress in implementing Security Council pertaining to the Iraqi regime's aggression.

The GCC Supreme Council observes that the Iraqi regime is continuing to stall in implementing basic aspects of the Security Council resolutions; in violating the cease-fire conditions by refusing to release detainees from Kuwait and other countries; in refusing to adhere to the resolutions of the UN technical committee on border demarcation between the two countries; in failure to implement Security Council resolutions pertaining to its payment of compensation because of its legal responsibility for the damages resulting from its aggression; in delay in restoring all the Kuwaiti possessions; and in stalling concerning the issue of removing all weapons of mass destruction.

The GCC Supreme Council condemns the Iraqi regime for its failure to obey all the Security Council resolutions and its continuing threats to the region's security and stability, as well as its creating a climate of concern and tension and its continuing to forge facts and issue expansionist allegations regarding the Kuwaiti territory, something which undermines stability and threatens peace in the region and creates a state of continuous tension that cannot be stopped unless the Iraqi regime obeys all the Security Council resolutions pertaining to its aggression.

The Supreme Council reaffirms its support for the measures taken by the Security Council and appeals to the international community to continue its pressure until the Iraqi regime responds and implements all the UN Security Council Resolutions, particularly those related to releasing Kuwaiti detainees and other nationals, affirming the need and importance of the continuation of the firm and solid international stand toward this regime. The Council hails the issuance of Resolution 773, which stresses that the Security Council guarantees the inviolability of the international border between Kuwait and Iraq. The Council also expresses its appreciation and welcome for the steps taken by the UN committee on the border demarcation between the two countries and renews its deep concern for Iraq's unity and territorial integrity, and holds the Iraqi regime fully responsible for the acts of sanguinary oppression against the Iraqi people and for any other suffering the Iraqi people might face as a result of this regime's refusal to implement Security Council Resolutions 706 and 712, which stipulate providing food and medical needs.

Relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran and the issue of the islands:

Having been briefed by His Highness Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan, UAE president and chairman of the current session, on the measures taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran on the island of Abu-Musa and on the continuation of the Iranian occupation of Tunb al-Kubra and Tunb al-Sughra islands, the Council denounces these measures and the continuation of occupation, which constitutes a violation of the UAE's sovereignty and territorial integrity and destabilizes regional security and stability. While expressing its profound regret and extreme concern for the unjustified Iranian measures, which conflict with the declared desire to promote bilateral relations and contradict the principles on which relations between the Council's states and the Islamic Republic of Iran are based, the Council emphasizes that developing relations between the two sides is contingent upon the enhancement of trust in whatever measures are taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran in harmony with its commitment to the principles of good neighborliness, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the region's states, and noninterference in others' internal affairs.

The Council also emphasizes that the continuation of the Iranian occupation of the three islands and the measures taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran on the island of Abu-Musa represent a violation of these principles and the declared desire to promote bilateral relations. The Supreme Council calls on the Islamic Republic of Iran to cancel and abolish all measures taken on Abu-Musa island and terminate its occupation of Tunb al-Kubra and Tunb al-Sughra, which belong to the UAE. The Supreme Council affirms its complete solidarity and absolute support for the UAE position and supports all the peaceful measures and means it deems appropriate

to regain its sovereignty over its three islands in accordance with international legitimacy and the principle of collective security.

The current Arab situation:

The Council examined the Middle East peace process which is aimed at ending the Arab-Israeli conflict and reaching a just, lasting, and comprehensive solution to the Palestine question on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace. The Council reaffirms its commitment to supporting the current peace efforts and commends the constructive role being played by the cosponsors of the [peace] conference. It expresses its aspiration for a just, comprehensive, and lasting peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine question in a manner that secures Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including holy Jerusalem; guarantees the Palestinian people's national legitimate rights, including their right to self- determination; and lays down strong pillars for the entrenchment of security and stability in the Middle East.

The Supreme Council strongly condemns the continuation of the Israeli acts of repression, persecution, and expansion in the occupied Arab territories and the occupation authorities' deportation of the people of the occupied territories from their homeland, stressing that the deportations, the construction of settlements, and the killings, torture, and arbitrary detention totally conflict with all international charters and norms, clash with the current peace efforts, and contradict the spirit of the new world order.

The Supreme Council appreciates UN Security Council Resolution 799, which strongly condemned the Israeli occupation authorities deportation of hundreds of Palestinian civilians, reiterated that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to all occupied Palestinian territories, including holy Jerusalem, and asked the Israeli authorities to ensure the safe and immediate return of all deportees to the occupied territories.

The Supreme Council strongly condemns the arbitrary Israeli deportation measures because they violate human rights, and also because they contravene the Fourth Geneva Convention and pose threats to the Middle East peace process. It also urges the Security Council to take all the measures that would make the Israeli occupation authorities comply with international charters and ensure the speedy return of deportees to their homeland.

Similarly, the Council condemns the continued Israeli aggressions against fraternal Lebanon, which have caused the death of innocent children and civilians and rendered the ongoing peace efforts void of any serious content. The Supreme Council also appeals to the UN Security Council to put real pressures on the Israeli authorities to make them abandon the policies of expansion and aggression; to force them to respect Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; and to ensure their full and unconditional compliance with Security Council Resolution 425, which provides for the withdrawal of their troops from southern Lebanon without any procrastination.

In the course of their review of inter-Arab ties, the Supreme Council welcomes the results of the sixth meeting held in Doha in September 1992 by foreign ministers of the Damascus Declaration signatory states, which affirmed that the declaration is a framework for accord, understanding, and dialogue as well as a nucleus for a new Arab order within the context of the Arab League—a nucleus that would involve the Arab states that espouse the same political perspective espoused by the eight signatories, and that would also share with them the same convictions regarding the need to support and enhance joint Arab action by providing stability to inter-Arab relations to enhance coexistence, ties, and cooperation on the basis of respect for sovereignty, independence, mutual interests, and also for the principle that each and every Arab state must have control over its natural and economic resources.

The Council is following developments in fraternal Somalia. It expresses its grave concern and strong regret over the Somali people's sufferings caused by the bloody civil war. It also pays tribute to UN Security Council Resolution 794, which provides for the dispatch of international troops to Somalia to create the security requirements needed for the performance of humanitarian relief operations. The Council affirms the determination to support these constructive international endeavors, to which three GCC member states are directly contributing. The Council urges all nationalist Somali factions to halt the shedding of blood, to brush aside their differences, to make national interests take precedence over all other considerations, and to cooperate with the current international endeavors. It also expresses the hope that these endeavors will succeed and that security and stability will be regained in this fraternal country.

The Council appeals to the international community to support the efforts being made within the framework of the aforementioned Security Council resolution to ensure the reestablishment of stability and peace in this country, and to safeguard Somalia's unity and territorial integrity.

The Serbian aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina: The Supreme Council is following with grave concern and deep regret the continued deterioration of the situation in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a result of the continued aggression of irregular Serbian troops, which are aided by Serbia and Montenegro, their violations of international law and the Fourth Geneva Convention, and their violations of the Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. The Council also is concerned over these troops' perpetration of the most heinous crimes of ethnic extermination, terrorism, displacement, and rape.

The Council also denounces the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro and urges the Security Council to take all necessary measures, including the use of force, in accordance with Article 42 of Chapter Seven of the UN Charter to restore world security and peace, to make the forces of aggression succumb to the resolutions of international legitimacy, to prevent the introduction of any changes in the demographic composition of this country or the achievement of territorial gains, to prevent the rewarding of aggressors, to make regular and irregular Serbian forces withdraw from the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and to pursue those responsible for the crimes committed against mankind in accordance with the Geneva Conventions.

The Supre... Council declares its absolute solidarity with and support for Bosnia-Hercegovina as it deals with a painful plight and puts up a heroic fight in defense of its independence, entity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. The Council applauds the pertinent resolutions of the sixth emergency session of the Islamic Conference Organization, and urges the UN Security Council to lift the arms embargo, now in force on Bosnia-Hercegovina, to enable it to repel aggressors and safeguard its existence in accordance with the right to self-defense provided for by Article 51 of the UN Convention. The Council appeals to the international community to come forward with all forms of aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina, realizing that deterring aggression is a collective global responsibility. The Council calls on the international community to adopt a determined and united stand to promote the Security Council and the London Conference resolutions.

The attack on the Babri mosque: The Council expresses its vigorous condemnation of the criminal attacks on sacred Islamic sites in India, as happened in the case of the destruction of the ancient and historic Babri mosque. It calls on the Indian Government to live up to its responsibilities and take further measures to ensure safety for Muslims in India and respect for their religious rights and sacred places, and to rebuild the mosque as pledged by the Indian prime minister.

Welcome to the new U.S. Administration: The Council declares that the present state of global affairs provides most favorable circumstances to advance international cooperation. The Council further declares its rejection of whatever constitutes a clear departure from established international rules and conventions. It expresses its gratitude to President George Bush for his courageous and meritorious stances and for the cooperation the United States extended during his term in office, especially his efforts on behalf of the causes of the liberation of Kuwait and the Middle East peace process. The Council looks forward to the continuation of fruitful cooperation with the incoming administration of President-elect Bill Clinton in the interest of world security, stability, and peace.

Military and security cooperation: The GCC has taken stock of the headway made by the military and security cooperation among its member states in light of the recommendations submitted by their defense ministers.

Recognizing the state of the present circumstances that call for a reinforcement of the notion of collective security, and convinced that the GCC states security is indivisible, the Council has ratified the defense ministers' and Ministerial Council's recommendations in the sphere of military cooperation to advance collective defense.

Economic cooperation: The Council is satisfied that the financial and economic cooperation committee has worked out a standard customs tariff, which will be phased in. It tasked the committee to draw up an integrated system for the plan to be submitted for endorsement during the next Supreme Council session. The Council ratified the enforcement of new rules regulating the retail trade. It ratified the patent system for the GCC and bylaws of the patent bureau to be based at the headquarters of the General Secretariat.

The Council reiterates it abides by the Doha summit resolution calling for establishing a GCC program to promote economic development in the Arab states according to the aims and considerations set out at the Doha summit.

The Council expresses its gratitude and appreciation for UAE President Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan and his government and people for their hospitality and their truthful brotherly sentiments, as well as for the excellent preparations and efforts made to ensure the comfort of the delegations and the success of the conference.

The Council appreciates the tremendous efforts made by GCC Secretary General 'Abdallah Ya'qub Bisharah since the body was established. The Council appreciates the time, effort, and experience he has displayed over the years. We wish him every success in whatever tasks he takes on in the future. The Council welcomes Shaykh Fahim Bin-Sultan al-Qasimi as the new GCC secretary general for the next three years.

The Council looks forward to the convening of its 14th session in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in December 1993 in response to the generous invitation of King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the custodian of the two holy mosques.

Thank you your highness, Mr. Chairman.

Cordon States Begin Meeting in Cairo

Syria's al-Shar' Arrives

NC2312192392 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1832 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 23 Dec (MENA)—Syrian Foreign Minister Farug al-Shar' arrived in Cairo this evening to attend meetings of the foreign ministers of countries concerned with the Middle East peace process, due to begin in Cairo before noon on 24 December.

The conferees will discuss the latest developments in the peace process, assess the eighth round of the peace negotiations, and prepare for the next round. The conferees will also discuss the Arab stand on Israel's deportation of Palestinians from the occupied Arab territories.

He was received upon arrival by Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa and Syrian Ambassador to Egypt 'Isa Darwish.

Palestinian Delegate Comments

NC2412080392 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2308 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 23 Dec (MENA)—Ba'th 'Urayqat, a member of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, has said that the Israeli High Court's latest ruling approving the decision on the Palestinians' deportation has come as an assassination of the peace process. He said: We hope that the Arab effort will materialize at the meetings of the cordon states' and Egypt's foreign ministers on 24 December to produce a mechanism to implement Security Council Resolution 799, which calls for the return of the deportees.

'Urayqat said these remarks when he arrived in Cairo this evening as part of the Palestinian delegation participating in the cordon states meetings led by PLO Executive Committee member Yasir 'Abd- Rabbuh, who has arrived in Cairo for this purpose.

'Uraqat said that the crime Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin is now perpetrating is a practical implementation of Ari'el Sharon's ideas 15 years ago, saying that it is an act of transfer, not deportation.

'Urayqat said that the Israeli prime minister has to realize that the deportation crimes and the peace process are two parallel lines that never meet, and thus he should recant these decisions to save the peace process if he truly seeks peace.

On the possibility of resuming Palestinian dialogue with the new U.S. Administration, 'Urayqat said he believes that the U.S. policy is not affected by the change in faces, because it is based on regional interests.

He expressed his belief that the new U.S. Administration will be committed to the criteria set by President George Bush's administration at the Madrid conference and its resolutions as a basis for a peaceful settlement.

Jordanian, Lebanese Ministers' Arrival

NC2412085492 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2249 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Cairo, 23 Dec (MENA)—Jordanian Foreign Minister Dr. Kamil Abu-Jabir arrived in Cairo tonight to participate in the meeting of the Egyptian and cordon states foreign ministers, due to be held Thursday.

In an arrival statement, Abu-Jabir said that one of the most important topics on the meeting's agenda will be the Palestinian deportees and their current difficult living conditions.

He added that these deportees are an example of the acts of deportation and displacement that has happened to the Palestinian people within sight and hearing of the civilized world.

He called for a unified Arab stand and for reviving the concept of pan-Arab security. He said that despite setbacks in recent years, events have proven that Arab solidarity still exists and needs to be enhanced.

Asked for his assessment of the Arab-Israeli peace talks, he said: Although more than 14 months have passed since the peace process began, we are still at the beginning of the road, because the adversary we are facing is deceptive, intransigent, and uneasy.

He praised Egypt's role in the peace process and said that this role proceeds from Egypt's pan-Arab, religious, and cultural responsibility.

The Jordanian minister commented on the rapprochement between Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and the PLO, emphasizing that it is an important and blessed step in the history of the Palestinian struggle.

[Cairo MENA in Arabic at 0820 GMT on 24 December, in a Cairo-datelined report, adds: Lebanese Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz arrived in Cairo this morning to attend the meeting of the foreign ministers of Arab cordon states, which is to begin later today. The Lebanese foreign minister was welcomed on arrival by Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa."]

Meeting Begins

NC2412104992 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 0059 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] The foreign ministers of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Palestine began their meeting in Cairo today to discuss the Arab position on Israel's decision to deport more than 400 Palestinians from the occupied Arab territories. They will also discuss the results of the eighth round of the peace negotiations and preparations for the next round.

Libya

Civil Aircraft Crashes; Passengers, Crew Killed

LD2212125292 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1203 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Tripoli, 22 Dec (JANA)—JANA has learned from a responsible source at the Libyan Arab Civil Aviation Authority of the General Aviation Authority that at 1007 local time of the Great Jamahiriyah a painful and catastrophic accident occured to airliner flight no. 1103 from Benghazi. This led to the loss of all the 157 passengers and crew of various nationalities.

All the necessary investigations have now begun in accordance with the Libyan Civil Aviation Law and the standards of the International Aviation Organization. All health, security-related, legal, and other measures have been taken in an appropriate manner.

Officials Convey Condolences

LD2212222192 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1815 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Tripoli, 22 Dec (JANA)—Colonel Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, Col. Mustafa al-Kharubi, and brother Sayf al-Islam Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi [son of Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi], the brother secretary of the General People's Congress, and the secretaries of the General People's Committees for justice, public security, public services, tourism, communications, health, and social security, conveyed their condolences to the families of the victims in the Libyan Arab plane crash, following the funeral of the victims.

Plane Crash, UN Measures Linked

LD2312220292 Tripoli Libyan Television Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 23 Dec

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Following a funeral service for the dead of the crashed Libyan airliner, a eulogy was delivered. It said, in part: We are convinced that the disaster which led to the death of these victims was caused by the compulsory measures which were unjustly imposed on the Great Jamahiriyah because they affected the means of air transportation, the air traffic control service, and the technical matters which fall within this field.

The speech also stressed that those who lost their lives in this disaster were victims of the injustice imposed by the UN Security Council which inflicted on the Libyan Arab people many tragedies and disasters. They include this painful calamity.

The speech included prayers for the victims and for God's mercy on their souls and comfort and consolation for their families.

A memorial stone for the victims of the plane crash is to be erected at the scene of the crash with the inscription of a verse from the Koran referring to the mortality of human beings.

1,040 Children Arrive From Bosnia-Herzegovina

LD2212134992 Tripoli Great Jamahiriyah Radio Network in Arabic 1200 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Excerpt] In a humanitarian move by the Great Jamahiriyah to alleviate the damage caused by factional fighting in the former Yugoslvia and to protect children, victims of the fighting caused by a power struggle nourished by foreign parties, 1,040 children from the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina arrived at Tripoli port this morning aboard the Libyan ship Ghurnata. They will be given shelter in the Great Jamahiriyah. [passage omitted]

Saddam Issues Message on Christmas, New Year

JN2312154192 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1430 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Baghdad, 23 Dec (INA)—Leader President Saddam Husayn has affirmed that our steadfast, struggling people and their leadership will continue to work in all fields to make more achievements to improve the living conditions of this country, the Arab nation, and humanity at large, wherever possible.

His excellency added that the deep-rooted Iraqi people, the founders of the civilization of mankind, have worked hard to possess scientific knowledge and make up for what they have missed in terms of opportunities for progress and development. They aim to lay the foundations for a new way of living, in terms of services and production so as to keep pace with modernity and progress to achieve their legitimate national rights and support their brothers in Arab countries.

In a message addressed to the sons of the great Iraqi people, the sons of the glorious Arab nation, and the Christian nation in particular, on Christmas and the New Year, leader President Saddam Husayn added: The evil powers that have controlled the world's resources for a long time found that Iraq's progress represented a challenge to their approach, which is based on exploitation and enslavement. These powers also felt that Iraq had become a threat to their illegitimate interests. Hence, the aggression of more than 30 states, led by the U.S. President and his administration in 1991.

His excellency added that the people of Iraq have overcome all the evil deeds of these powers and managed, praise be to God, to reconstruct the edifices of culture and civilization destroyed by the aggressors while closing the door in the face of the lowly ones.

The leader president predicted a bright future for the sons of the Iraqi people, in terms of leading a secure life in a world permeated by freedom, progress, and happiness.

His excellency added: Two and a half years have passed since the blockade was imposed and two years have passed since the biggest aggression in history was launched. Despite all of this, our confidence in our people and their ability to overcome difficulties is increasing and we have never had any doubts about this.

Following is the text of President Saddam Husayn's message on Christmas and the New Year:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

From Saddam Husayn to the great people of Iraq, the glorious Arab nation, and Christians in particular. To all honorable peoples wherever they may be in the world.

Praise be to God who is the only God. I pray for his forgiveness and help, and I turn to him.

On the occasion of Christ's birthday, peace be upon Him, and the New Year, it pleases me to extend to all of you my warmest congratulations accompanied with best wishes of continued good health and happiness, praying that almighty God bring us to the days when humanity realizes all its aspirations of a safe life, away from the effects and conspiracies of the forces of evil and aggression, and when love and world peace prevail, justice and equality are entrenched, and poverty, famine, and oppression are eliminated as called for in all heavenly messages and sublime human values.

Our people in patient and mujahid Iraq, as well as their leadership, will continue to work in all fields of life to emphasize all that satisfies God, to realize all achievements that will develop the life of this country, the Arab nation, and humanity as much as they can, and whenever the chances for cooperation are available between quarters that advocate goodness at the levels of governments and peoples.

Brothers and friends: Over two decades, our people in Iraq and their leadership struggled under the umbrella of their faithful, sincere and mujahid regime to achieve progress in life that is suitable to the deeply rooted people, the founders of a human civilization that contributed to building its greatest achievements and landmarks, and who are working to entrench its sublime meanings.

Our people have sought to attain scientific advancement and to compensate for the missing opportunities for development. It has pursued comprehensive educational, health care, and social security programs that are necessary for maintaining human dignity and establishing the pillars of a new life in the fields of production and services, so as to catch up with the march of progress. In all that, our people have exploited nobody's efforts or rights, nor harmed anybody. To achieve these goals, the Iraqi people have never exploited anybody else's wealth or efforts, relying on their own efforts. Rather, in their noble endeavor, our people have used their capabilities and resources, and utilized the revenues of their oil wealth, which is a gift from God and nature to them, so as to achieve their legitimate national objectives and to support their brothers in Arab countries, helping them develop their lives. Whenever possible and as much as it could, Iraq has also extended support to a number of Third World nations to help them ease some of the ordeals they face.

To achieve these noble objectives, it is essential to fill the gap of development between Iraq and some advanced states, especially in the field of science and knowledge. Our people realize that the current era is one of science and knowledge, and that the faith that fills their hearts must be accompanied by knowledge which can reveal this homeland's resources to contribute toward human endeavors to build life. Thus, faith becomes an essential party to great achievements.

However, good is always antagonized by evil from another source. The two sides are involved in an eternal conflict for survival. Thus, the evil powers that have controlled the

world's destinies for a long period of time have regarded Iraq's progress as a challenge to their approach, which is based on exploitation and enslavement.

These powers discovered that Iraq had become a force posing a threat to their illegitimate interests—a force in terms of genuine historic and spiritual revival, and in terms of the manner in which it instilled faith in its children to be more productive than the losers had counted on. In the manner it deployed its oil revenues focusing on benefits and lofty principles, Iraq became a model to be emulated by other peoples. Iraq has served as a valuable and practical role model for other peoples to rise up against an existence of despair and capitulation and to endeavor to rip apart the flesh of a state of international relations founded on injustice, oppression, and exploitation. Iraq has been striving to build a new pattern of relations based on the principles of cooperation, mutual benefits, and a joint effort by one global family to develop human life and consolidate fairness and justice as pillars of peace.

What we had been saying about the march of the Iraqi people was deemed enough grounds for the forces of tyranny to commit direct aggression against Iraq with a view to petrifying life itself. Thus came the 30-plus-nation aggression in 1991, led by the U.S. President and his administration.

Today, two years since the direct military aggression and nearly two and a half years since the ongoing economic blockade, the Iraqi people have, with God's help, managed to repair the damage done by the aggressors. Iraq has succeeded in blocking the path of the losers who had schemed to make it beg for its livelihood from unscrupulous quarters, after, as they had calculated, it lost its power to influence events and to build a decent and generous life for its people.

Brothers: Despite all that we have been through, our belief in God and His will and His certainty has not been affected in the least, and our confidence in achieving success has never faltered. Nor have our hopes for the future been diminished. We want to have a happy outlook on life and we want our people and our Arab nation to have peace of mind. Our nation is too strong to be discouraged or to buckle under the pressure of aggressors and the practices of evildoers.

Brothers: Two and a half years passed since the blockade was imposed and two years have passed since the biggest aggression against any nation in history was launched. Despite all of this, our confidence in our people and in their ability to overcome difficulties and achieve their legitimate share of progress is very high, and we have never had any doubts about this. We are also confident that in the future our people will achieve a decisive and final victory over their enemies. In fact, this conviction on our part is now stronger than ever before. We hope that, God willing, our people will lead a secure and happy life in a way that will compensate them for everything they have lost as a result of the machinations of evildoers.

We also hope that our nation and the sons of humanity will lead a similar life, when tyranny and tyrants and exploitation and exploiters are all defeated. We also hope that a modern, civilized, and close-knit community will be established. This community will be in the vanguard of humanity, leading it in terms of knowledge and accomplishments, and in helping and protecting the nation of Arabs. These are attainable goals. In fact, these hopes have become an undoubted reality that proved its existence by virtue of its justness and the strong conviction we have in it. Our objectives, which have been made more pressing and more important through sacrifices, will be achieved in spite of all enemy attempts to prevent this.

On this great occasion, I urge the glorious Iraqi men and women to work hard and to do more. It is only by doing good deeds that we win God's satisfaction; it is only by doing good deeds that we prove our loyalty to the martyrs who defended their land, principles, and sacred duties; it is only by doing good, effective deeds that we win the nation's pride and the admiration of humanity; good deeds ensure that our sacrifices are not being made for nothing, but are being made for the right cause and for the future of the homeland, the people, and the nation, and to achieve happiness for our children and grandchildren, God willing.

I once again extend my congratulations to you, beseeching God Almighty to enable you always to hold your heads high by virtue of your faith, pride, and legitimate optimism. I also wish you happiness and wish to see you actively involved in the affairs of your life. May God Almighty accept our faith, acts of worship, jihad, patience, and sacrifices, and may He reward the believers among you with what befits His righteous followers. God is most merciful and tolerant.

May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

[Signed] Saddam Husayn

[Dated] 28 Jumada al-Akhirah 1413 Hegira, corresponding to 23 December 1992

Kurdish Parliament Speaker Interviewed on Future

PM2812131592 London AL-WATAN in Arabic 21-27 Dec 92 pp 44-45

[Interview with Jawhar Namiq Salim, "speaker of the Kurdish parliament," by Zaki Shihab in London "two weeks"]

[Excerpts] [Shihab] What are the most important tasks which your parliament has carried out since its election on 19 May?

[Salim] The parliament is the result of democratic elections held in Iraqi Kurdistan after the Kurdistan Front,

which comprises eight Kurdish parties, decided to hold elections to form organs to run our areas after negotiations with the regime in Baghdad failed as a result of the Iraqi Government's suspension of the negotiations, its withdrawal of all its administrations from Iraqi Kurdistan, and its imposition of an economic blockade on it. The parliament was established following the Kurdish elections. It began its tasks on 4 June 1992. The most important task it has carried out is forming the administration in Kurdistan and enacting several laws which meet the Kurdish region's needs. We have also consolidated the democratic tradition and emphasized democratic freedoms.

[Shihab] Some people described the elections in Kurdistan as a step toward partitioning Iraq. What is your opinion?

[Salim] The reality is contrary to that. The parliament was born as a result of free elections. We had experienced dominations by militias. And since we are responsible for the lives of 3.5 million citizens and face bad economic conditions and difficult political conditions, we had to hold the elections, because the alternative to this step would create a vacuum which could cause people to eat one another.

[Shihab] Are we to understanding from your statement that, if conditions return to normal in Iraq, you will dissolve the Kurdish parliament?

[Salim] The parliament is the Kurdish people's representative. And establishing a democratic system has always been among the Kurdish movement's aims. At present we are agreed with the other Iraqi opposition factions on Iraq's future after Saddam Husayn. We are agreed that the new system be pluralistic, democratic, and parliamentary. [passage omitted]

[Shihab] How can the Iraqi Kurds accept federalism and cooperate with Turkey against the Kurdistan Workers' Party "PKK], which is demanding a federation with Turkey?

[Salim] What you say confirms the credibility of our orientations regarding the establishment of a federation within Iraqi territory supported by the Iraqi people. The brothers in the PKK tried to cross the international borders linking us with Turkey to carry out military activities and other similar things. And as we are responsible for these borders and respect international law, we stopped their activities inside Iraqi territories, on the grounds that their actions violate the rules of good-neighborliness. [passage omitted]

[Shihab] And is the PKK present on your territory allowed to perform any political activities at present?

[Salim] Yes. They accepted the conditions of the Iraqi Kurdistan government, and we moved them to areas far from the Turkish border.

[Shihab] Have the Turkish forces completely withdrawn from northern Iraq?

[Salim] These forces began to withdraw on 16 November, and I believe they completed their withdrawal recently.

[Shihab] But there are still reports of the existence of Turkish positions inside your territory?

[Salim] They have withdrawn from northern Iraq.

[Shihab] What is the outcome of the agreements reached and contacts made between Turkish officials and the Kurdistan National Front in northern Iraq, especially as Turkish Prime minister Suleyman Demirel's statements stress that Turkey will not allow the establishment of a Kurdish state in the region?

[Salim] We have not declared a state in the north of Iraqi Kurdistan. We have emphasized that we are part of Iraq. And we are working with the Iraqi opposition to safeguard Iraq's unity. So there is no reason for the Turkish prime minister to worry. We are part of Iraq, and what we have is nothing more than a regional administration whose task is to safeguard the Iraqi people's unity. [passage omitted]

[Shihab] And will coalition forces remain in Turkey to protect you indefinitely?

[Salim] I do not think so. But certainly the information available to us says that, as long as there is a danger threatening the Kurdish people, these forces will remain in our region. [passage omitted]

[Shihab] Whom did the Iraqi Government send recently to negotiate with the Kurdish leadership?

[Salim] I heard that there was an attempt of that kind, but it bore no fruit. The reason is the Iraqi Government's intransigence and rejection of the steps taken in our region recently.

[Shihab] Do you not believe that the Iraqi opposition which met in Salah al-Din failed to unify the opposition offered by all its influential factions?

[Salim] An executive committee and leadership council were formed in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the unified national conference of the Iraqi opposition. Several working papers were achieved. All we hope is to implement what was agreed as soon as possible. What was achieved at that conference was important, as for the first time the Iraqi opposition unanimously agreed to adopt important resolutions concerning Iraq's future and the establishment of capabilities.

[Shihab] Observers regarded the Turkish military entry into northern Iraq and the ensuing meeting of the foreign ministers of Syria, Turkey, and Iran as messages addressed to the Iraqi opposition which met in Salah al-Din and the Kurdish leadership which espoused federalism. What is your opinion?

[Salim] Certainly the tripartite meeting among the foreign ministers of the states you mentioned, and the

statements that followed it, worried us a great deal. Because the Iraqi people's future should be left to the Iraqi people. And the representative of the Iraqi people is the Iraqi opposition—all its wings. And I do not believe that it is useful for regional states to discuss Iraq's future in isolation from its sons. We expressed our concern as the opposition over what happened recently. [passage omitted]

[Shihab] If a regime other than the Saddam Husayn regime assumes power in Iraq and opposes the federation you are demanding, would you abandon it?

[Salim] A regime that demands something like that is definitely undemocratic. The Iraqi opposition endorsed the Kurdish people's right to self-determination within a democratic, parliamentary, pluralistic Iraq. And in our capacity as representatives of the Kurdish people who were elected in the presence of over 200 foreign organizations and figures representing various states and parliaments, we reject any regime that does not respect the peoples' right to self-determination. [passage omitted]

* Barzani, Talabani Declare Trend Toward Unity

93AE0192A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 11 Dec 92 pp 1, 6

[Interviews With Jalal Talabani, leader of National Union of Kurdistan, and Mas'ud Barzani, leader of Kurdistan Democratic Party, by Kamiran Qurrah Daghi; place and date not given]

[Text] Salah-al-Din, Qal'at—In two separate interviews with AL-HAYAH (text on page 6), Kurdish Leaders Mas'ud Barzani and Jalal Talabani have affirmed that rapprochement between their two parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party [KDP] and the Democratic Union of Kurdistan [NUK], has become so deep that a tendency calling for unity between the two main parties in the Iraqi Kurdish movement is gaining strength within the two parties' ranks.

Barzani expressed the view that the two parties cooperate "as if they were a single party. We will maintain this formula, whatever the cost." Meanwhile, Talabani has said that there is a tendency calling for establishing a unified command for the two parties "on the basis that they form two wings of a single party." He added that the tendency to unify the two parties exists "even at leadership levels. All these issues are left for the future, and they must be left to dialogue and debate to bring them to fruition."

In this context, the two leaders have said that the two parties have agreed on unifying their representation bureaus abroad which will come under the Kurdish administration's control, plus unifying their professional and social organizations. Steps have also been taken to unify the Peshmerga (fighters) in a single force controlled by the Kurdistani government. Barzani said that this force will be 30,000-strong in the initial phase and that it will be organized along the lines of the Iraqi Army system "because they will, perhaps, be merged with this army in the future, when Iraq's problem is solved and when a democratic alternative is established in it."

In a related development, Barzani has welcomed the U.S. decision to open two offices in Irbil and al-Sulaymaniyah and considered it "proof of the U.S. eagerness to provide humanitarian aid to the afflicted Kurdish people and of its interest in bringing success to the democratic experiment in Iraqi Kurdistan."

At another level, Talabani has expressed the view that the purpose of Baghdad's allusions to dialogue, made by Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz, is to "deceive the Kurdish side anew on the eve of President-elect Bill Clinton's assumption of the U.S. presidency."

Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani, the NUK chairman, has set certain terms for resuming dialogue with Baghdad, including acceptance of Security Council Resolution 668 as a basis for the dialogue and provided that this dialogue is conducted under international supervision. Talabani also expects the regional Kurdish government to impose its authority on all parts of the Iraqi Kurdistan by the end of this year. Following is text of the interview with Talabani:

[Daghi] Recent statements by Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz give the impression that Baghdad is prepared for a new dialogue with the Kurds. Do you think that there are still bases for further dialogue between the two sides?

[Talabani] Tariq 'Aziz is skilled in deception and in distorting developments and facts. He tries to hold us responsible for failure of the negotiations and says that under U.S. and British influence, we have refused to reach agreement.

The truth is that the government foiled the negotiations. When it realized, or rather when it deluded itself into believing, that its conditions had stabilized and that the alliance forces had withdrawn from northern Iraq and when it was tickled by the hopes of a successful military coup in the Soviet Union against former President Mikhail Gorbachev, it foiled the negotiations and refused to grant Kurds the simplest rights.

It is strange that 'Aziz should talk of foreign influence when he acknowledged in the presence of 'Izzat al-Duri (the Revolution Command Council deputy chairman) and of members of the Kurdish delegation that his government had refused to conclude an accord with the NUK in 1986 because of foreign influence—Turkish influence, to be precise. In response to a question by al-Duri on why the two sides had not reached an accord, 'Aziz (addressing his words to me) said: "Your friend (President Turgut) Ozal (who was prime minister then) has foiled the accord."

In fact, the Kurdish side took a chance when it sent a delegation to Baghdad to negotiate with a regime isolated, ostracized, and condemned by the world. I recall

that whenever I faced the international press for a long time afterward, I was constantly confronted with the question: "Weren't you the one who went to Baghdad and embraced Saddam Husayn?"

Actually, Baghdad's objective behind inviting the Kurds to negotiate in wake of defeat of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait was to foil Security Council Resolution 688, one of whose provisions calls for dialogue between the Iraqi Government and the Kurds. I believe that we in the Kurdish leadership made a mistake because we did not cling to this resolution and did not insist on negotiating with Baghdad on its basis and under international supervision.

The allusions issuing currently from Baghdad make us wonder: Aren't these calls intended to deceive the Kurdish side anew on the eve of President-elect Bill Clinton's assumption of the presidency? Isn't this a misleading endeavor whose objective is to transmit to the new U.S. administration a message that Baghdad wants to negotiate with the Kurds and that it can drag them to the negotiations table any time it wants? Consequently, isn't it Baghdad's objective to show the world that it always holds the initiative whether to call for dialogue or to reject it?

[Daghi] Despite this, can you agree to negotiate if certain conditions are met?

[Talabani] If Baghdad declares its acceptance of Resolution 688 as a basis for dialogue under international supervision, I believe that the Kurds may agree to negotiate, provided that two other conditions are met: First, approval by the Iraqi opposition leadership, which is embodied in the Unified Iraqi National Congress, of which we are considered a main part, and, second, approval by the allied states that protect the Iraqi Kurdistan. I wish to make it clear that the fact that we demand these states' approval as a precondition does not mean that we are subservient to them but that the Kurdish issue in Iraq has gone beyond the local dimension and has become an international issue. It is not in the Kurdish people's interest for the issue to descend from the lofty peak of internationalization to the tunnel of an Iraqi Ba'thist solution.

But I do not believe the Iraqi Government is serious. If it were, it would hasten to lift the economic blockade it has imposed on the Iraqi Kurdistan for more than a year. I believe that a government that claims to be eager for the country does not work to sever its limbs because economic estrangement is a basis for political estrangement. This government would also hasten to end its acts of sabotage against us. We, too, can explode bombs in Baghdad. But we will never do it, because Baghdad is our capital and because its people are our kinsmen. We do not wish to harm them.

[Daghi] The question that imposes itself is: Within the framework of the current Iraqi opposition formula, do you think that it is possible to develop a solution to the Kurdish issue with Baghdad in isolation from a comprehensive solution to the Iraqi issue?

[Talabani] I do not believe that any problem in Iraq, be it the Kurdish, sectarian, economic, or government problem, can be solved without democracy. There is no solution to any Iraqi problem without democracy. This is why I say: Democracy first and democracy in the second, third, and fourth place, and then the other issues follow. Consequently, I do not have the slightest doubt that the Kurdish issue cannot be solved without democracy.

[Daghi] Do you think that it is possible to project a formula to solve the Kurdish issue, and the Iraqi issue generally, on an international basis, i.e., under UN supervision, as has happened in Angola, Namibia, and other places,for example. Thus, free democratic elections will be held, and all will be allowed to compete in them, including the ruling Ba'th Party.

[Talabani] This was the Kurdish side's opinion at the latest Iraqi opposition conference which was held in Salah-al-Din. But it was rejected by a big majority. The Kurdish side believes that an international solution similar to the Cambodian solution, for example, can be developed for the Iraqi issue. I personally believe that the Iraqi issue has become an international issue and that the solution to the issue has become a concern of the neighboring countries and of numerous other countries. Thus, all of these countries are supposed to cooperate to develop a sound, lasting, and acceptable solution.

[Daghi] In your opinion, is there hope that Ba'thists in power and army officers will cooperate with the Kurds against the regime?

[Talabani] Personally, I prefer a bloodless solution that can be accomplished through peaceful transformation or through Ba'thists in the government. But if this is impossible, then all means and methods have to be used to rescue Iraq from dictatorship. I believe that there are numerous elements in the ruling party ranks and in the Iraqi Army who reject dictatorship. There is no doubt that one can cooperate with such elements to replace the regime and to hold free elections to determine Iraq's future. In this light, not all Ba'thists and Iraqi Army officers should be considered criminals and murderers who must be punished. Inversely, crime must be confined to the true criminal only.

[Daghi] Let us move to relations between the Kurdish administration and the neighboring countries that have displayed evident concern over what is going on in the Iraqi Kurdistan. This concern was demonstrated by the Turkish-Iranian-Syrian meeting that was held in Ankara last month. Are you in contact with these countries?

[Talabani] The fact is that the Ankara meeting was held as a consequence of Iran's wish, according to Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati. I felt very sad when I read Velayati's comments in the Iranian press in which he said that the root of the problem is the absence of the Iraqi Army from the north. Perhaps he has forgotten that

presence of the Iraqi Army in the north also means the presence of Mujahidin-e-Khalq fighters. But it seems to me that fear of democracy and federalism has made Dr. Velayati forget important facts, including the fact that federalism unites and does not divide. The truth is that the Kurdish people are enjoying independence now. But they have opted voluntarily and of their own volition for a federal union within a democratic Iraq.

I also regret very much participation by Faruq al-Shar' in the Ankara conference, which has been characterized by many Kurds as a plot against the Kurdish people and the Iraqi opposition. We were greatly pained by [the participation of] Syria, which, since the start of the era known as President Hafiz al-Asad's era, has been an asylum for numerous Iraqi and Kurdish movements. I personally cannot forget to give credit to Syria, which is where we lived and where we reorganized our ranks. Therefore, it is not out of courtesy to anybody that we say that we will continue to be thankful to President Hafiz al-Asad and the Syrian brothers who helped us at difficult times. This is what made us feel more pained by Syria's participation in the Ankara conference.

This is why we have found it important to contact Syria and Iran. We in the NUK are eager for continued relations with Syria and for eliminating the misunderstanding between Syria and the Kurdish side. At the same time, there are contacts with Iran. The NUK has sent one of its leaders there, and he has a letter from me authorizing him to speak in my name, as well. We do not want relations with our neighbors to sour.

As for Turkey, we have been able to solve the problems promptly and to reach an understanding on our divergent viewpoints regarding federalism. There is cooperation between us in settling border problems and in moving international humanitarian aid through Turkey to the Iraqi Kurdistan. On its part, Turkey understands our situation. It is a democratic country that has political plurality. There are there parties that are close to us and others that are hostile to us, and there are tendencies that support us and others that do not. In Iran also, there are tendencies. But they are all hostile to us by varying degrees. Despite this, we are trying to normalize the relations with them.

[Daghi] The prevalent political talk in Kurdistan now is talk of the tendency for unification at all levels and of the great rapprochement between the NUK and the KDP, which agreed recently to unite their student and women's organizations and others. To what level can the ambition for unification reach?

[Talabani] This process can be divided into two parts: First, a tendency to unify the regional government institutions. This tendency is prevalent in the two parties, the Kurdistani Front, and the Kurdistani society generally. A government emanating from free elections has been formed, and we have empowered it to run the Kurdish area. This is what we have all agreed on. We want to establish the rule of a law founded on democratic institutions and human rights. Therefore, all faulty practices by the parties and the militias must be ended, and I am not excluding the NUK, of course. We hope that all problems will be ended by the end of this year in which we hope that the regional government will impose its authority on all parts of Iraqi Kurdistan and will manage them with the rule of the law, democracy, and human rights.

Regarding political unification, we in the NUK have called for uniting the Kurdish parties that have similar programs. The NUK itself was three organizations or tendencies that decided to merge in their latest congress this year. Then three other parties decided to merge in a single party, namely the Kurdistan Unity Party [KUP]. Beginning this week, the NUK has, through its media, been urging all past members who left it for various reasons to rejoin its ranks and to open dialogue on this re-accession. The KDP preceded us by urging all its past members to rejoin its ranks. There is a tendency within the Iraqi Communist Party that is advocating the concept of a Kurdistani communist party. But we believe that it is better that this tendency join the political party closest to it instead of forming another party.

[Daghi] The more interesting phenomenon is the great rapprochement between the two major parties.

[Talabani] Recently, cooperation between the NUK and the KDP has been strengthened to the extent that opinions have developed within their ranks, even at leadership levels, calling for unifying these two parties. There is a tendency that calls for forming a single leadership for both parties on the basis that they form two wings of a single party. All of these are issues for the future, and they must be left to dialogue and debate to bring them to fruition. As for professional and social organizations, they must all be unified. Most of them have been unified, and the remaining ones are on their way.

[Daghi] Does this include the media and party representation offices abroad?

[Talabani] Regarding foreign representation, we have agreed on unifying four bureaus of the NUK and KDP in Washington, London, Bonn, and Paris. We hope that representation will be unified everywhere.

A debate is underway on unifying the media. There is a tendency toward absolute freedom in media ownership, including radio and television. The advocates of this tendency consider media unification a monopoly that promotes dictatorship. The other tendency calls for unification. On our part, we advocate democracy and freedom and we believe that freedom must be comprehensive and unrestricted. In any case, the debate goes on in this regard.

[Daghi] New elections were supposed to be held for the Kurdish parliament and leadership within six months of the elections that were held last May. What is the situation in this connection?

[Talabani] The fact is that our efforts are focused now on bolstering mainstays of the state of law and strengthening the regional government. Meanwhile, we are working to establish a new election law. When we accomplish these things and when the right circumstances and conditions, including a population census, develop, new elections can be held. This may occur sometime next year.

Interview With Barzani

For his part, Iraqi Kurdish Leader Mas'ud Barzani, the KDP chairman, has expressed the belief that most of the sabotage acts occurring in Iraqi Kurdistan recently have been implemented by the Iraqi regime and that they are "tantamount to a declaration of war against Kurdistan's people." He also expressed the belief that the major problem experienced by the Kurds is an economic problem. Following is text of the interview with Barzani:

[Daghi] A few days ago, the United States announced that it has decided to open two offices in Irbil and al-Sulaymaniyah to supervise delivery of the humanitarian aid which it contributes within the framework of the UN program through direct coordination with the Kurdish administration. What, in your opinion, is the significance of this step?

[Barzani] We have welcomed this decision, considering it proof positive of eagerness of the United States to provide aid to the afflicted Kurdish people and of its interest in bringing success to the democratic experiment in Iraqi Kurdistan.

[Daghi] It has been noticed recently that there has been an escalation of acts of sabotage against the UN operations aimed at delivering humanitarian aid to Kurds and to the Kurdish provinces generally. Has the Kurdish administration taken special steps to counter these acts?

[Barzani] The sabotage acts, most of which are carried out by the Iraqi regime, are tantamount to a declaration of war on Kurdistan's people. They are an extension of al-Anfal [loot] operations, intended to annihilate our people. The circumstances do not permit the Iraqi Army to move and strike Kurdistan as it did in the past. This is why the regime resorts to sabotage acts. We can certainly respond to the regime with the same methods. But we do not believe in them because they are terroristic whereas the Kurdish people reject and condemn terrorism and they do not employ it even against those who use terrorism to harm them.

The Kurdish administration is required to take all the necessary precautionary steps. The administration has been able to expose numerous sabotage networks and to arrest a large number of saboteurs assigned to carry out these acts.

Domestic Situation

[Daghi] Are you certain that the internal Kurdish situation is strong enough to make it possible to confront these difficulties?

[Barzani] Yes, the internal situation is very firm and the Kurdish people are behind their leadership. The major problem we are experiencing is an economic problem. Many of our problems, including the security problems, are caused by economic factors. The Kurdistan government is unable to provide the means and resources needed to spread the police and security agencies to all areas under our control.

Otherwise, our internal situation is firm and strong and I am confident that we will overcome all these problems and difficulties. We hope that the domestic public opinion will understand our hardship and will proceed to help us confront it.

[Daghi] For nearly two weeks, increased quantities of humanitarian aid, especially fuel and food, have been arriving in Kurdistan. Are they enough to solve the economic problem?

[Barzani] They will solve part of the problem, not all of it.

[Daghi] The internal domestic situation has been undergoing rapid developments, especially since the Kurdish elections were held. What, in your opinion, are the positive and negative aspects of these developments?

[Barzani] Foremost among the positives are foundation of the parliament, formation of the Kurdistan Province government, and the efforts initiated to establish legitimate institutions and to organize economic and service affairs. There are negatives also. Perhaps some of them are due to our lacking the required experience, and some are due to the failure of certain agencies to perform their tasks. But I can say confidently that the positives exceed the negatives.

[Daghi] You have put the emphasis constantly on eliminating the rule of the militias in Iraqi Kurdistan. What point has the plan to unify the Peshmerga into a single force reached?

[Barzani] The main objective behind our holding the election was to have the law govern all of us and to get rid of the militias' rule. This cannot be accomplished if the Peshmerga forces continue to be controlled by this or that party. This is why we have worked seriously to unify these forces and to attach them to the Ministry of Peshmerga Affairs, i.e., to the government of the province. God be thanked, we have reached bilateral agreement in this regard between the KDP and NUK first and then among all parties allied within the Kurdistani Front. We will begin by forming a force comprised of 50,000 Peshmergas. The number can be increased, depending on the security conditions and requirements. The force will be formed along the lines of the Iraqi Army system because it is possible that it will merge with

this army in the future, if Iraq's problem is solved on the basis of a democratic alternative to the current regime in Baghdad.

All plans are ready and we expect that all measures will be completed by this year's end. Strict controls have been adopted for selecting members of the unified force. These members could come from among experienced people whose honorable past struggle is certified. No element suspected of having committed crimes against his people in the past will be accepted.

[Daghi] But the Peshmerga forces exceed 30,000 by quite a bit. What will happen to the rest?

[Barzani] Some of them will join the police and security forces, and laws will be issued to honor and retire veteran Peshmergas. The others will be considered a reserve army and will return to public [civilian] life. However, they will be under the control of organized units and will be recalled to the service when the need arises. They will be permitted to acquire weapons, but they will be prohibited from carrying them unless so ordered by their command. They will have a special command that will come under the control of the Ministry of Peshmerga Affairs.

[Daghi] This leads us to talk about what can be characterized as unification tendencies within the Kurdish movement in light of the major rapprochement between your party and the NUK. It has been noticed that tendencies calling even for uniting the two parties have surfaced within ranks of the two parties. What level can your ambition in this regard reach?

[Barzani] If we compare our present condition with our condition a year ago, I can say very gladly that we have made a long stride toward the objective of the Kurdish movement's unity. Under our movement's circumstances, unity of the ranks is a fundamental guaranty to protect the gains we have made and to achieve further gains.

If we examine the Kurdish parties' programs, we find that there are no big differences between the objectives that they seek to accomplish, which are liberationist, nationalist, and democratic in nature. Very often, subjective elements, not objective necessity, controls the creation of some parties. I believe that everybody has begun to comprehend this fact and that this is what has motivated them to make efforts to merge parties whose objectives are very similar in a single party. As for the KDP, it is considered the mother party within the Kurdish movement in the Iraqi Kurdistan. This party welcomes any element or organization that decides to rejoin its ranks.

I believe the same tendency exists in the NUK. Consequently, we hope the efforts to unite the Kurdish movement in the Iraqi Kurdistan will be crowned with the adoption of a formula for unification of the KDP and NUK. It pleases me to assert that all affairs are managed now as if the two were a single party. We will maintain this formula, no matter the cost.

[Daghi] Doesn't this evoke fears of the single party?

[Barzani] Whether we have one party or several parties, everything must proceed on the basis of the pluralistic democratic system—a system founded on constitutional democratic laws. We can never accept the dictatorial single-party system.

[Daghi] In wake of the fight with the (Turkish) Kurdistani Workers Party and of the accompanying tensions in the relations with Turkey, what is the nature of the agreement between you and Ankara, and what is your assessment of the Kurdish-Turkish relations now?

[Barzani] From the outset, we have not concealed our regret for the fight with the Kurdistani Workers Party. However, the Kurdistan Province government was forced to fight the Workers Party. The Kurdish parliament had issued an ultimatum to this party within the framework of self-defense. But the Workers Party went so far as to consider itself an alternative to the Kurdish administration and it refused to acknowledge this administration or the elected parliament. It accused all our parties of treason, violated the legitimate government's authority, occupied villages, set up roadblocks, tried to collect customs taxes, and obstructed the delivery of aid to the Iraqi Kurdistan.

In the final phases of the combat, the Turkish Army intervened without any prior agreement with the Kurdish leadership. This embarrassed and pained us greatly, especially when we heard that there was a plan for the Turkish Army to stay in the Iraqi Kurdistan and to establish a security belt similar to the belt in Southern Lebanon. We are, of course, eager for establishing good relations with Turkey. But this does not mean that we accept the Turkish Army's presence in our territory or this army's creation of a security belt.

When the Kurdistani Workers Party leadership realized that it had no choice but to submit to the Kurdish parliament's will, it concluded with us an agreement in accordance with which it moved all its fighters from the border area to a specific area in al-Sulaymaniyah Governorate that is controlled by the police of the Kurdistani Interior Ministry.

Afterward, I and brother Jalal Talabani met with Turkish officials and assured them that we will not agree to the creation of a security belt or to the stay of Turkish forces in our territory. Our first meeting led to agreement that no security belt will be established. The Turkish forces then started an immediate withdrawal. At the second meeting, we agreed that we will take responsibility for security on the Iraqi side of the border, that we will establish several observation points to watch the border, and that dealings with the Kurdish administration will be conducted without any intervention in our internal affairs.

[Daghi] Have the Turkish forces withdrawn from the territory of the Iraqi Kurdistan?

[Barzani] Yes, they have withdrawn completely.

[Daghi] Let us turn to the Iraqi opposition. Has it been boosted since the latest plenary Unified Iraqi National Congress which was held in Salah-al-Din?

[Barzani] We view the congress as a major event, considering that it is the first conference in which all these factions met and agreed on certain formulae. Every agreement was either unanimous or by majority. All the brothers assigned to positions of responsibility, especially the Executive Council members, are scheduled to return to Kurdistan and begin their tasks. It is certain that there is a need to stir and to boost. The brothers are supposed to have arranged their affairs by then in a way that creates the circumstances to launch the activity. We are awaiting return of the Executive Council members now.

[Daghi] It has been noticed that the Islamic groups that took part in the meeting adopted different positions when they left Kurdistan.

[Barzani] I have read the statements they have issued. The truth is that I have not understood from these statements if they continue to consider themselves members of the National Congress or if they have decided to suspend their membership in it. What makes it more perplexing is that these groups participated in the Salah-al-Din meeting which issued the well-known resolutions.

[Daghi] Does the Kurdish side agree to the Islamic groups' proposal to hold another meeting to solve the problems?

[Barzani] We are prepared to discuss everything, to surmount all obstacles, and to overcome all deficiencies. But it is impossible to hold another plenary meeting. Even from the practical, security, and financial aspects, we cannot get all these people together again a very short time after the past meeting. I repeat that it is possible to discuss everything within the framework of the Executive Council on the basis of the formulae produced by the Salah-al-Din meeting.

[Daghi] Finally, is there a plan to hold new Kurdish elections?

[Barzani] This is something that is determined by the parliament. Personally, I see no need for early elections and I believe that the parliament and the government must be given more time to accomplish their program.

[Daghi] Can we expect steps to strengthen the Kurdish government through a cabinet reshuffle, for example, to enable the government to absorb the tasks of the new phase in a better manner?

[Barzani] Yes, we have an idea in this regard, and it is being studied.

Reaction to Aspin, Christopher Appointments

TA2412115092 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 24 Dec 92 p A5

[Report by Aluf Ben and 'Aqiva Eldar]

[Excerpts] The defense establishment yesterday reacted with joy and satisfaction to the appointment of Les Aspin as the next U.S. secretary of defense.

"Aspin has a long record of support for Israel, especially on the strategic cooperation issue," security elements said. "He knows Israel's unique security problems." [passage omitted]

After he learned about President-elect Bill Clinton's intention to appoint him as secretary of state, Warren Christopher appealed to a Jewish senator, a friend of Israel, asking that a meeting be arranged for him with leaders of Jewish organizations so as to determine joint work patterns and to inform them of his positions about Israel and the Middle East.

Political elements in Jerusalem view this as a signal of Christopher's desire to remove the fears about him. According to them, the Clinton administration is not considered hostile toward Israel, and this will also be the approach of the members of the Ministerial Committee on National Security Affairs. According to them, Christopher is known as an honest person and is expected to act according to the president's instructions.

Envoy to U.S. Comments

TA2412061992 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0505 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] At this point the United States does not plan to take any initiative to return the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] deportees, U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger told Israeli Ambassador Zalman Shoval last night. Eagleburger believes that the peace talks will resume in spite of the deportations. Our correspondent Arye Golan reports from Washington:

[Begin recording] [Golan] It was a routine meeting, Ambassador Shoval says, and the question of the deportees—or as he calls them, the men removed from Israel—was not the main theme in the talk with the U.S. secretary of state. Both men share the assessment that the peace process will continue in spite of everything. According to Shoval, Eagleburger did not demand from him that the deportees be returned.

[Shoval] He did not demand anything from us. At this point the United States has no intention of taking any initiative on the question of the men removed from Israel. As is known, the secretary of state has expressed his understanding about the steps—perhaps not the steps, but certainly Israel's sentiments and outrage over the provocations and actions of Hamas.

[Golan] Of course, the 20th of January and Warren Christopher, the man who will succeed Eagleburger, loomed in the background.

[Shoval] As far as I know, he definitely is a man with objective opinions and basically friendly to Israel. He has many friends in the Jewish community, who have spoken to me in praise of the man. He is a professional. Of course, in the United States—but not just in the United States—basic policy is formulated by the man at the top of the pyramid, that is, the president. I believe that we will be able to reach a great measure of understanding with the next secretary of state.

[Golan] In any event, shortly after Secretary of State-designate Warren Christopher enters his office on the seventh floor of the State Department a new Israeli ambassador, Professor Itamar Rabinovich, will arrive in Washington. [end recording]

Policy on Negotiations With PLO Remains Unchanged

TA2312185792 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1500 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Report by political correspondent Nahum Guttman]

[Excerpts] This morning's extraordinary cabinet meeting, which dealt with the peace process, was inconclusive, although the bottom line could have been predicted: The government does not intend to endorse the Meretz ministers' proposals to amend criteria governing PLO inclusion in the peace process. As for improving the conditions of life of residents of the territories, accord may be achieved.

The political debate was launched with a report by the chief delegates on progress achieved in the latest round of negotiations. Neither Uri Lubrani nor Itamar Rabinovich and Elyaqim Rubinstein had any news to report, but Prime Minister Rabin said that the time when Israel will have to make decisions concerning the process is drawing near. [passage omitted]

The Meretz ministers explicitly demand to include East Jerusalem residents, and especially Faysal al-Husayni, in the process. They were joined by Labor Minister Ora Namir, who said: Faysal al-Husay[illegible] number-one leader, and we must talk to him.

Meretz Minister Amnon Rubinstein urged the cabinet to adopt a series of measures designed to alleviate the hardships in the lives of the territories residents. His main demand was to bring back veteran deportees. He believed this move would show that Israel does not plan to carry out a mass transfer. [passage omitted]

Minister Hayim Ramon, a quasi-dove, said that a change in the Palestinian representation has no room at present, although we are actually talking with PLO personnel even now.

[Begin Ramon recording] We are talking with PLO-territories, because we are working out an arrangement that will apply to the territories only, and not to the entire Palestinian problem. When we start discussing the comprehensive arrangement, which will follow the autonomy phase—and the entire cabinet believes this should be the first stage—we will hold a debate on whether to negotiate with PLO elements who are ready to live in peace with us and are against terrorism. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Most of the dovish cabinet ministers did not voice their views at the meeting, although Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres said that at this point, as long as we are discussing interim arrangements only, there is no room to change the Madrid formula.

[Begin Peres recording] There is a delegation on which everyone—including Faysal al-Husayni and Tunis—agree. Why change it? [end recording]

The same spirit prevailed in Prime Minister Rabin's summation remarks: There is no need to change the framework, the prime minister asserted. This resolve was expressed in the government statement issued after the meeting and read by Cabinet Secretary Elyaqim Rubinstein:

[Begin Rubinstein recording] The government policy rejecting negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization remains unchanged. Negotiations on interim arrangements with residents of the territories, as well as with the Arab countries, will continue in accordance with the existing format. [end recording]

Still, the debate has not ended. While the issue of Palestinian representation was elucidated by the prime minister who said it was undebatable, Rabin was ready to discuss the issue of easing the life of the residents of the territories. Next week, Civil Administration officials will present the cabinet with a series of constructive measures in the field of Jordan Bridges customs, aid to the industrialization process, and so forth. As for a vote on the inclusion of either the PLO or East Jerusalem Arabs in the peace process, none is expected next week either.

Rabin Says Deportation Decision 'Irreversible'

TA2312160492 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1500 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] As long as disturbances and terrorist attacks are carried out, Israel will continue taking every measure ensuring security without changing the existing rules. These remarks were made tonight by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin in a Christmas visit with Christian leaders. He pointed out that the government's deportation decision will not be reversed. Here is a report by Qobi Mandel, our correspondent in Haifa:

[Begin recording] [Mandel] Yitzhaq Rabin says that Israel has consented to receive the UN secretary general's envoy, who will arrive in the wake of the deportation affair, although he stresses that the deportation decision remains valid.

[Rabin] The government's decision to temporarily remove 415 Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and Islamic Jihad leaders and agitators is irreversible, and all we can do is explain it.

[Mandel] The prime minister adds that Israel will continue resorting to the same means in its quest to ensure the security of its citizens.

[Rabin] As long as terrorism prevails and disturbances are staged, all the rules and measures we have been implementing to maintain security will remain valid, and we will naturally continue resorting to them.

[Mandel] The prime minister, who came to wish the Christian leaders a merry Christmas, was asked about the political process.

[Rabin] The government's policy remains unchanged: The peace negotiations must continue in their present format, with the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation whose Palestinian components are residents of the territories. With the PLO as an organization, we conduct no negotiations. [end recording]

Downplays PLO-Hamas Rapprochement

TA2412072592 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0600 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] The prime minister believes there should be no fear of an imminent rapprochement between Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and the PLO in the wake of the deportations. He believes the two organizations do not share a common basis despite their dialogue in Tunis. Our correspondent Shulamit Schmerling reports that during a tour of Haifa last night, Mr. Rabin stressed that when it comes to terror all the organizations are the same and the difference is in the political aspect.

Addressing Labor activists in Haifa, the prime minister said that the sum the government has been pouring into Israel Military Industries [IMI] in a bid to save it totals almost 1 billion shekels. He disclosed that IMI lost 90 million shekels in various attempts to revert from military to civilian production.

Peres: UN Cannot Change Decision on Deportation

TA2412072992 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres says the United Nations cannot change the decision of the Israeli Government to deport the 415 activists. Speaking at a news

conference in Jerusalem, the foreign minister said next week's visit by UN Under Secretary James Jonah is a goodwill mission.

[Begin Peres recording] I think that we can clarify to the UN envoy what are the options open to the deportees, what are the steps necessary in order to guarantee the continuation of the peace process. The secretary general of the United Nations, when he called me by phone, described the mission of the envoy as a mission of goodwill and we accept it in that spirit. And, we shall really participate and cooperate in renewing the goodwill in the Middle East.

The United Nations is not a super government. It cannot change the decisions of the Israeli Government because we consider our decisions as legally accepted. Then, may I say that there are still some options for each of the deportees if he wants to use a legal, reasonable way. Each of them, as a matter of fact, has the right to appeal before a committee, put his case as he sees it, and if he is innocent he has all the chances to come back home. So, the deportees, too, must choose between the legal road and the political ("impression"). The road is open to them legally, because Israel is a legal-oriented country. [end recording]

Police Minister on Deportations, PLO Talks

TA2312212292 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 1940 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Interview with Police Minister Moshe Shahal by Yoram Rosen, Yig'al Goren, and Uri Kohen Aharonov on the weekly "Moqed" program—live in the studio]

[Excerpts] [Rosen] [passage omitted] Mr. Minister, the cabinet today held the first-ever discussion on the possibility of talks with the PLO. Our political correspondent claims that half of the cabinet ministers are ready to converse with Palestinians affiliated in one way or another with the PLO. Does this not constitute the initial signal that we are ready to talk with PLO-affiliated people—something no previous Israeli Government was ever ready to contemplate?

[Shahal] I have news for you: Every Israeli Government which addressed this issue, including the previous, Shamir-led government, spoke with the PLO overtly and intentionally. They opted for residents of the territories as partners in negotiations to avoid tackling the question of whether they were talking to the PLO as an organization. It was decided to conduct talks with those who are under our rule in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza with the knowledge that their political affiliation would not be examined. [passage omitted]

[Goren] Is not Faysal al-Husayni a resident of the territories too?

[Shahal] The problem with Faysal al-Husayni is not his being from Judaea and Samaria, but his being from Jerusalem. Since we have announced that Jerusalem is not negotiable at all, that it is Israel's capital, unified under our sovereignty, the issue of al-Husayni's, or any Palestinian's domicile, is the deciding factor.

[Goren] Will he be kosher if he moves to Ramallah?

[Shahal] Certainly, as far as I am concerned. Anyway, I believe that to prevent excessive attention to procedure and to allow us to start addressing the substance that interests us—our security and with whom we will sign an agreement—we should decide on a realistic approach: We should talk with any Palestinian who recognizes Israel's right to exist, because this is significant from both a historic and a religious viewpoint. We should talk to anyone who declares that he is against terrorism and takes appropriate action and agrees to sit down to negotiations with us.

[Rosen] Still, I see a novelty in Foreign Minister Peres' remarks in today's interview with YEDI'OT AHARONOT that we should and can talk with any Palestinian willing to talk to us, no matter what his affiliation, address, or relation to the PLO.

[Shahal] I am very glad he said that, because I have been promoting this approach for over four years. I am very glad many people endorse it. My view has been that instead of addressing substantial issues pertaining to our security and survival, we have been busy with procedure and declarations because of the nature of the Likud governments. [passage omitted]

[Kohen-Aharonov] Minister Shahal, you have made a distinction between moderate and radical Palestinians, yet Faysal al-Husayni said both yesterday and today that the deportations have buried the peace process. They draw no such distinction these days.

[Shahal] This is the Middle East, where rhetoric is not a permanent thing, but is rather made in response to the needs of the moment. I have more than an estimate, I have information that the same Palestinians who are nowadays making lofty declarations—which they cannot avoid, because they have no choice right now—are really happy, because they understand perfectly well...

[Kohen-Aharonov, interrupting] Do you have information, or is it your opinion only? Do you know of cases of happy people, or is it your hunch only?

[Shahal] I will not go into detail, but I can say that divergent factions, which do not support Hamas, have expressed more than a little joy after the deportations.

[Rosen] In the wake of the deportations and the harsh international criticism, on the part of the United States as well, would you risk reiterating the assessment the prime minister has voiced several times—namely that we will sign an agreement with the Palestinians and the Syrians, or at least with one of them, in 1993?

[Shahal] I definitely think the prime minister's observation is well founded in our reality. The majority of the Palestinians have reached the pragmatic conclusion that

they have no other alternative, that the only thing they can achieve is an arrangement with us. By the way, we have been waiting and hoping for this. In my view, the negotiations will be typical of the Middle East, with ups and downs. Some of them will necessarily involve pretense of failing to achieve one's goals. [passage omitted]

[Goren] Do you believe it can be achieved without a direct dialogue with the principal leadership, the PLO?

[Shahal] The possibility of discussing the interim arrangement of Palestinian self-government, or autonomy as we call it, with residents of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza is realistic. We had received their consent on that, and there is broad consensus on the issue among Palestinians. As for the permanent arrangement, I believe it will be preferable for the State of Israel to reach an arrangement that is acceptable to all the Palestinians. At Camp David, too, an opening was left for other, for outside Palestinians. I think, however, that we have a right to pose conditions as to who will negotiate with us and what preconditions we will be willing to hear and accept before we start talks with them.

[Kohen-Aharonov] Mr. Shahal, to return to the deportations, the Rabin government has done something even a Likud government has never dared. The General Staff and others had advised expulsion of radical activists—Hamas and others—in the past, but the Likud never dared do it.

[Goren] I will add to Uri's question: Why did you opt for deportation? Why could you not have opted for detention, which would have removed the men from the territory? Why not administrative detentions, which the government has been carrying out for many years? [passage omitted]

[Shahal] The situation demanded deportations. We had information about the organizational infrastructure of Hamas, which openly declared its intentions and carried out assassinations, and which planned even more radical acts than already perpetrated. These were not directed only at Jews, but also at Arabs. They intended to do harm to anyone they did not like, anyone who did not endorse their views. They meant to fully take over the territory.

I can tell you that Faysal al-Husayni was not the only one whose life was threatened; the lives of a great number of Palestinian delegates to the peace talks were threatened. These threats had the backing of an organizational infrastructure composed of the ostensibly innocent people—which is how they present themselves to television crews—who claim to have no idea why they have been deported. These people's ideology, money, and organizational network served as the foundation for murderers who were after two things: murdering opponents and inciting the population, and also killing the peace process.

[Goren] I will ask again: Why deport? Why not detain? The establishment has methods which have already proven themselves.

[Shahal] There was a need to take immediate and effective action that would prevent the continued impact of their organization. [passage omitted]

[Kohen-Aharonov] Will the deportations prevent continued deterioration? Will they reduce terrorism?

[Shahal] One move cannot ensure that there will be no more acts of terrorism.

[Kohen-Aharonov] And if these deportations do not help, will there be more?

[Shahal] I would like to say that we do not deport arbitrarily. These are people whom we checked and on whom we received information. We do not want to carry out additional deportations as a rule. It is not something you do happily. It is a grave step, which was necessary in the circumstances. [passage omitted]

High Court Ruling Saves Government 'Prestige'

TA2312154992 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 23 Dec 92 p 2

[Editorial: "The High Court Ruling: The Good, the Bad, and the Prestige"]

[Text] The initial reaction to the seven High Court of Justice [HCJ] judges' decision rejecting the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] deportees' petition to return to Israel was a deep sigh of relief.

Because the most maddening thought that ran through our minds during the two long days in which the HCJ deliberated the matter was: And what if the justices decide to grant the appeal?

Beyond the question of whether such a decision would be just, and even beyond the desire to avenge the crimes committed by Hamas, the Israeli public was confronted with the unbearable knowledge that such a decision would make its government an ineffectual body with an almost nonexistent prestige.

Only on second thought was there for the first time concern about the possible impact of such a decision on our most radical enemies, who in one fell swoop would become not only the heroes of the Arab street, but victorious heroes.

Only after the HCJ ruling allayed these two threats and we were free to examine it on merit, did we feel unanimous pride in our inviolate democracy in which the executive authority subordinates itself to the judicial authority.

We all said to one man that had the verdict been different, the executive authority would have likewise obeyed without demurring.

But we were all happy that this confidence did not have to be tested.

The issue itself—the deportees' fate—is still undecided. Appeals on the deportations' legality will be heard next month. Until then, we are certain to be supplied with inordinate quantities of pictures and touching descriptions of the encampment in the Zummarayya pass as well as cynical comment on the incompetent execution of the deportations.

Both facets may be true. We are all wise after the fact, but this kind of wisdom does not count.

What matters is that the deportees must not—and cannot—be brought back now, no matter how heavy the pressure applied on us. The stability of the regime depends on that.

The paraphrase of the trite slogan—"my government for better and for worse"—has never been more applicable than now.

High Court Receives 2 New Petitions on Deportees

TA2312191592 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 1800 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Civil rights lawyer Andre Rosenthal has requested that the High Court of Justice issue a temporary injunction that would suspend the operation of the military appeal tribunals for the deportees until the court makes its final ruling on the legality of the deportation. Rosenthal is also claiming that it is impossible to represent the deportees because of the lack of contact between the group in Lebanon and family members in the territories.

In another petition to the High Court, lawyers representing two of the deportees claim that the two were issued with deportation orders earlier this year, but this was changed to administrative detention as part of the goodwill gestures towards the Palestinians. The petition claims the two were deported while the question of their administrative detention was still to be debated by the judge advocate general's office. The two men in question are leading Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] activists from the Gaza Strip Ahmad Hamdan from Khan Yunus and Khalil Muhjiz from the Jabaliyah refugee camp.

Commentator Views 'Left-Wing Deportation'

TA1812152692 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 Dec 92 p 15

[Commentary by Hemi Shalev: "A Left-Wing Deportation"]

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, who once bragged from the Knesset podium that he had demolished more homes, broken more bones, and deported more inciters than the Likud, last week finally won the Israeli title in punishing Palestinians. Rabin was probably mostly satisfied by the fact that his offer to deport hundreds of Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] activists, deliberately bypassing the High Court of Justice, received the warmest welcome in his party's dovish circles and Meretz ministers, who once were his harshest critics and rivals.

The political leadership of Israel's left last week played the role of the extreme right-wing parties in the previous governments. Likud was fenced off from the rightist public opinion by Tehiya, Tzomet, and Moledet, which protected the large party against charges of "selling Eretz Yisra'el to the Arabs." Labor dovish ministers and Meretz last week effortlessly assumed a similar role of repelling the parallel charges against an iron fist and collective punishment raised by the Israeli left and "legalistic" circles. Last year, Rabin claimed that the Israeli left "is jeopardizing the state's security." Last week he probably changed his mind completely and will not hesitate to express regret.

From this point of view, the Israeli left last week added to the old clichés that "only the right can return territories," and "only Ari'el Sharon will speak with Yasir 'Arafat." From now on, it can be assumed that it will be said that only the left can impose such heavy and draconic punishments on the Arabs.

The ministers accepted the thesis that the government must "strike at Hamas to save the peace." Suddenly, they became experts on Arab street psychology, some even noted that deporting hundreds of activists will reinforce the "moderate elements" among the Palestinians—namely, the PLO. Nevertheless, it is common knowledge that the Palestinians consider deportation the harshest blow the Israeli Administration could deliver. The likelihood that the government is correct in its assumptions is the same as the likelihood that the mass deportation will infuriate the Palestinians, make them close ranks, and gain Hamas a lot of prestige. In deciding to deport Hamas men, the Israeli Government announced to the world and the Palestinians that it regards Hamas as the No. 1 enemy. It thus provided Hamas with a seal of authenticity worth more than its weight in gold.

The ministers relied, among other things, on reports that some Palestinians, including members of the PLO leadership, have called on the government to act against Hamas and its growing stronghold among the Palestinians. Even if these reports are correct, the PLO will find it very hard to forsake 400 of its subjects who were taken across the border. With its act of deportation, the government has created a momentum changing the reality that led to the alleged PLO request. The deportation may well weaken Hamas' military ability, but the belief that it would strengthen the Palestinian public support for the peace process is no more than an illusion.

The deportation is squandering a significant part of the international reputation this government has gained as

"sane and rational," mainly when compared with its predecessors. It might create the first rift with the Clinton administration even before he assumes his post, mainly in view of the Democratic Party's special sensitivity to human rights in general and Palestinian rights in particular. It is placing the peace process at risk, and might lead to an inter-Arab momentum, which could cause the entire process to collapse. After a long period of absence, Israel will again feature in the UN Security Council deliberations in its classic role of the "enfant terrible" of the world.

These fears—which were missing from the cabinet discussion—should have been enough to raise the expectation that at least some of the so-called "sane" ministers would avoid enthusiastically joining the deportation plan. The ministers, however, eagerly adopted the observation by some of the defense establishment heads that a deportation is the "most effective means." (And perhaps, if the main test is one of effectiveness, they should have gone a step further and ordered that the deportation be made by helicopters whose pilots would "forget" to land and, in the famous Argentine method, "release" the deportees above Hizballah villages in south Lebanon, of all places. Undoubtedly, the impact of 400 Palestinians falling from the sky and crashing on the roofs, streets, and yards of Hizballah supporters would have been of immense proportions, and would thus have killed two birds with one stone).

Even if the arguments for the effectiveness of the deportations are true, it is hard to understand the government's wholesale adoption of them as the only course of government action. It is hard not to be surprised at the sight of politicians whose careers were founded on presenting moral arguments against collective punishment suddenly accepting a late-night deportation of hundreds of people whose guilt has never been proven, as will be recalled. It is hard to understand why ministers who have been complaining for years against the violation of international laws, now join an overt rebellion against them without blinking an eye. Ministers who used to believe that a deportation act is the best expression of the right-wing disregard for the Palestinian adherence to their land, did not hesitate to support the practical implementation of a Rehav'am Ze'evi-like philosophy. And worst of all is perhaps the fact that ministers who for years have been pledging allegiance to the High Court of Justice, suddenly lend their hand to legalistic twists and turns meant to bypass Israel's supreme *judicial* institution, and presenting it as worthless.

The legal element is perhaps the hardest to swallow. Here we had a group of ministers—some of whom are senior legal experts and fighters for human rights—who, following the advise of the wondrous consigliere Attorney General Yosef Harish, conspired against the High Court of Justice. Let us call it "removal," they said; let us restrict its time span; let us follow British mandate decrees; let us allow them to appeal from their new place of residence; and now, all together, let us cheer the court: Long live the High Court of Justice! The government intended to push the deportees across the border in the dead of night, before anyone would have time to appeal to the court. It even activated the military censorship, but failed. Once it failed, ministers with legal background pledged that they would "follow the law," only after being caught attempting to violate it.

Ze'evi can now smile with satisfaction. Not only may he now claim that "the work of the righteous is done by others"—after all he has always claimed that Labor party forefathers were the first to come up with the transfer idea—but also, from his point of view, the various elements this week carried out the exercise very efficiently.

"A senior political source" who briefed political correspondents several hours after the decision was made, presented them with last year's breakdown of terror fatalities to refute the Likud claims that the state of security has deteriorated since the new government assumed power on 13 July. The figures indeed show that the state of security was equally grave before and after that date. If this is the case, what is the justification for making such a draconian move at this time, after the previous government repeatedly avoided it?

It took the new government five months to adopt a code of behavior that the Likud abstained from during its 15 years in power. "War is war," the left-wing brave men declare, "and there are no rules in war." This followed their accepting without protest Rabin's claim that, contrary to everything that took place in the war of terror against Israel, this time, "it is war." As if soldiers have never been kidnapped and killed before; as if the call "death to the Arabs" was heard for the first time last week; as if up until now Ari'el Sharon had believed that the government, any government, has done whatever is needed "to protect the lives of Jews."

It took the government five months to reach a situation in which it takes great international risks, ignores the expected criticism of the legal system and the media, turns its back on the political credo that put it in power to begin with, and carries out that which the right had only dreamed of doing.

At the basis of the ideological reasoning supporting the act of deportation stands "the peace process." Dovish ministers have hinted that the act of deportation is not an isolated event, but part of a move that would lead to a dramatic breakthrough in the negotiations, such as an Israeli agreement to negotiate with the PLO. It is reasonable to ask what is the limit of legitimizing acts allegedly taken to promote the peace process. It should be noted that the left has paid for goods not yet delivered, and which perhaps will never be delivered. They are yet to discover that in this step they brought Tzomet and the National Religious Party closer to the government, despite Rabin's wishes, which would put off any chance to promote the peace process.

If the government were ready to adopt radical changes in its policy to bring about a breakthrough in the peace

process, the deportation decision could have passed, barely, as a necessary evil. If the government were ready to negotiate the establishment of a Palestinian state with the PLO, there could have been a reason to deport the Hamas activists, both as a means to garner public support from within, and as an attempt to prevent the process from being foiled by its Islamic opponents. At this stage, however, the government is offering the Palestinians a transitional arrangement that is not accepted by the majority of the residents of the territories. The attempt to describe the PLO as an element with which Israel can strike a deal when the issue under discussion is seen by most of the Palestinians as surrender, will only entail the weakening of the PLO and the strengthening of Hamas. As the "senior political source" himself has put it: Any attempt on our part to encourage moderate Palestinians would boomerang.

The government decision to deport hundreds of Hamas activists is flawed from whatever angle it is observed: political, legal, or moral. The promise that the decision will be accompanied by a political benefit is, at this stage, a mere hallucination. The decision has but one reason, and this is indeed the only reason it was carried out at all: politicking. The ministers felt that they are rapidly losing popularity, that the public is turning its back on them, and that the very existence of the government is in jeopardy. In passing a single decision, the government has regained its public strength, and even opened the door for reinforcement by parties which have so far claimed it is "weak."

Hamas must be fought through every possible means, within the boundaries of reason and law. The detention of the 418 Hamas activists could in itself prevent continued acts of terror. In deciding to carry out the mass deportation, the government admitted that there has been a serious deterioration in the state of security since it came into power. It is an admission that, in fact, the defense establishment has lost control of events. Implicitly, the Labor-Meretz government is admitting that the Likud governments' restraint was unjustified and unnecessary.

And after all, terror will not stop. What will the government decide next week, or next month, when the acts of terror return and intensify? What if some of the operations are carried out by Fatah, of all organizations? What will it do then? Will it deport 4,000? Will it hang inciters in the city square? Will it demolish 100 houses for the sake of the "peace process?" In passing the decision, the government did not only set itself a new record to break, what is even more frightening is that it unleashed restrictions that could apply to future governments which, as is well known, will not necessarily be made up exclusively of Labor and Meretz.

The unusual dynamics of the session in which the government made the decision to deport the Hamas activists deserves a political as well as psychological examination. Apparently, the ministers felt they were losing control and they were intimidated by the crowds. It is not the decision itself that is so scary; it is the holy alliance in which it was passed, the absence of reservation. It is reminiscent of a mass hysteria, only this time it was noticed on the highest government level. What seemed to the government as a demonstration of virility, determination, and standing tall, might yet appear to be a demonstration of loss of control and an expression of great weakness.

20 Arabs Said Wounded in Gaza Strip Riots

TA2312123192 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1200 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Twenty Arabs were wounded in the Gaza Strip by Israeli Army gunfire in riots which began this morning when the curfew and closure were lifted from most locations in the area. This has been learned by our correspondent Moti Amir from local Gazans. The Army is checking the report.

Our correspondent adds that five refugee camps and the town of Khan Yunus remain under curfew, and it is estimated that some 150,000 remain closeted in their homes. This morning, some 25,000 laborers from the Gaza Strip reported to work in Israel.

[Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English at 1100 GMT on 23 December adds: "An explosive device was thrown at an Israeli car this morning in Bayt Jala. No one was injured and there was no damage.

["In another development in the territories, a curfew was imposed on the Balatah refugee camp near Nablus after a shot was fired at a Border Police patrol. No one was injured in this incident."]

All Gaza Curfews Lifted; Two Stone Throwers Injured

TA2412123792 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1100 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Four men suspected of trying to set fire to three cars in the Pisgat Ze'ev neighborhood were detained in nearby Shu'fat in northern Jerusalem. Early this morning, the cars' windows were broken and flammable material was poured in. When the alarm system on one of the cars went off, the terrorists fled without setting fire to the cars.

In the village of Dura south of Hebron, two stone throwers were injured by soldiers' gunfire.

All the remaining curfews in the Gaza Strip were lifted this morning, and some 30,000 workers left for jobs in Israel.

Local Arab Sector Ends 'Almost Full' General Strike

TA2312145992 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 23 Dec 92 p A3

[Report by Yosef Algazi and ITIM]

[Excerpt] The almost-full general strike held by the Israeli Arab sector yesterday ended without outstanding incidents.

The strike, dubbed "The Day of Return," had been initiated by the Supreme Arab Follow-Up Committee to protest the deportations. The committee is composed of Israeli Arab leaders, deputy ministers, Knesset members [MK's], local council heads, party and political movement chiefs, and various notables.

Strike organizers stressed the "Arab public's acute fear that the mass deportation will constitute a precedent that will be followed by more massive deportations, which will pave the way for a policy of transfer. The latter will be first applied to Palestinians in the territories, and later possibly to the Palestinian citizens of the State of Israel.

Some Arab community members said that "the strike was designed to protest the deportation, rather than express solidarity with Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement]. This sentiment was reflected in the turbulent argument at the Supreme Arab Follow-Up Committee meeting between MK's from different factions and heads of the Islamic Movement, who are ideologically and politically close to Hamas." Many Arabs voiced their bitter disappointment with the policies pursued by Yitzhaq Rabin's government, from which they had had great expectations.

The strike was observed by every elected Arab local authority. The four appointed Arab local authorities, some of which are headed by Jewish officials appointed by the Interior Ministry, did not participate in the strike. These are 'Arab al-Shibli, Dayr al-Asad, Bi'r al-Maksur, and 'Ilut. The strike included all the schools and municipal services. Most of the Arab employees did not go out to work. [passage omitted]

Buwayz on Israel's Responsibility for Deportees

NC2312134992 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1130 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Statement by Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz to Radio Canada International; time and place not given—recorded]

[Text] In principle, the Lebanese Government maintains that the natural place for the Palestinian deportees is occupied Palestine. Therefore, it in no way accepts the principle of deportation, which is a very serious principle that opens the way in the future for raising the issue of resettling the Palestinians. Furthermore, the Lebanese Government, and not alone, maintains that Israel, as an occupying state, is ultimately responsible for the occupation situation in accordance with the Vienna agreement and all international regulations. Therefore, Israel is absolutely suppressing internal opposition to the occupation by deporting people to other states that have nothing to do with this issue.

We maintain that what Israel is doing constitutes a stab to the peace conference and negotiations. It is exploiting this transitional period for the U.S. Administration to establish a fait accompli, thinking that there is no control over it.

While we support the substance of the UN Security Council resolution, which condemned this action, we maintain that the international legitimacy and the UN Security Council should have adopted executive measures to ensure the return of these Palestinian citizens. We maintain that the UN Security Council resolution will remain incomplete as long as it does not include explicit sanctions against Israel similar to those adopted against a number of states that were regarded as having violated the principles of international law. We in no way can understand the application of different standards and criteria to states according to their status and geographic location. This is unacceptable and undermines the credibility of international quarters and the United Nations.

Previews Ministers' Meeting

NC2312140692 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1115 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Dispatch by Khalil Fulayhanah from the Foreign Ministry]

[Text] Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz held a news conference at the Foreign Ministry this afternoon during which he spoke about the purpose of holding an urgent meeting of the foreign ministers of the Arab countries participating in the Arab-Israeli bilateral talks. Mentioning the appointment of a new U.S. secretary of state, he noted the importance of this appointment, as the new secretary of state is knowledgeable about the Middle East dossier.

Here is what Buwayz said about the aim of the urgent foreign ministers meeting in Cairo tomorrow: [Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What will you ask the foreign ministers of the cordon states to do for promptly remedying the deportee issue?

[Buwayz] Following the consultations of the past two days, we agreed to hold a meeting in Cairo of the countries participating in the bilateral talks. The meeting will be devoted to the deportee issue. Lebanon's position is clear on this matter. We maintain that the state will not retract its position that the responsibility for handling this issue lies with the occupying Israeli state. We hold that the area where the deportees are is outside the state's authority as a result of the occupation. Therefore, it is Israel's legal and political responsibility to handle this issue. Regarding the Cairo meeting, there are certainly several views submitted for discussion. We will discuss, comprehensively and in general terms, the situation resulting from the deportation. After listening to the views and analyses that will be submitted, we might adopt an appropriate stance on this issue. [end recording]

Buwayz emphasized the need to adopt a unified Arab stand concerning the effects left by the deportation on the peace negotiations. He praised Warren Christopher's appointment as new U.S. secretary of state, saying that the new secretary is conversant with Middle East issues.

Hizballah Radio Interviews Deportee Leaders

NC2312154092 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic 0630 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Report on interview with "Islamic Jihad leader in Palestine" Tahir Lulu and deportee spokesman 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Rantisi from the Palestinian deportees' camp in the security zone in south Lebanon; date not given—passages in quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Lulu] "If a long time passes without our returning to Palestine, we will have a view to state that will surprise them and surprise the entire world."

[Announcer] This was the assertion of one of the Palestinian deportees' leaders, who believes that what the Zionists are doing now is a mere waste of time designed to confuse the issue and dissipate the Islamic and international popular and official support for their cause.

The deportees have spent another night in the temporary al-Quds [Jerusalem] camp of return. Their food supplies are about to run out and fresh supplies are not allowed in from any direction. The heroes of the return convoy are determined not to accept any compromise solution and say they must return to Palestine.

Our correspondent says the deportees emphatically reject all the compromise solutions currently under discussion, particularly proposals reported by the media pertaining to their possible stay in the occupied border strip for two years. The deportees announced that this proposal aims to pacify international opinion and defuse

the extensive popular support they enjoy from Islamic masses in this region and the world.

The deportees' spokesman, Dr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Rantisi, declared that solving the deportees' crisis lies in Yitzhaq Rabin's adherence to the Geneva conventions and UN resolutions, his abandoning terrorism, retracting the deportation decision, and returning to his senses.

Al-Rantisi stressed that deportation is a Nazi policy designed to have peace without land or people. He pointed out that the deportation was directed against intellectuals and educated people with the aim of evacuating the homeland of people able to think.

[Al-Rantisi] "The recent tragic mass deportation affected the best people in the homeland: university lecturers, professors, doctors, engineers, pharmacists, nurses, and intellectuals. The least among us has a bachelor's degree. We have people of all specializations. This highly educated group is being driven from the homeland in order to remove from it from people who are able to think. We were taken under cover of darkness, uprooted from amid our sons, daughters, mothers, wives, brothers, and sisters. They uprooted us, tied our hands behind us, bound our feet, and blindfolded us. They put us on board buses that traveled for 36 hours, allowing us no food or the opportunity to respond to calls of nature. We were not allowed even to speak."

[Announcer] Our correspondent asked Dr. al-Rantisi about the veracity of Israel's claim that by deporting Hamas leaders, it has succeeded in destroying the Hamas movement. Al-Rantisi replied:

[Al-Rantisi] "The deportation policy has made every Palestinian realize that the Muslims are the occupation authorities' real enemy. It is the Muslims who are fighting these authorities and seeking to drive them from Palestine. This boosts, not decreases, the credibility that Hamas enjoys among Muslims. The leaders of the activists who the enemy constantly fears are still in the occupied territories. They are operating as usual. The Israelis have uprooted the teachers, professors, doctors, and engineers. The troops of the battalions [junud al-kata'ib] remain in our occupied territories, striking fear into the hearts of the occupation forces."

[Announcer] Dr. Tahir Lulu, an Islamic Jihad leader in Palestine and one of the deportees, said he had expected the decision by the Zionist High Court and announced that no Muslim trusts Zionist organizations, or even international ones. Dr. Lulu told our correspondent:

[Lulu] "As a human being who fully understands Islam and the facts surrounding us, I have no faith in international institutions or organizations or anything else. I have faith only in God, may He be exalted. If you find me here at this time, it does not mean that I have faith in these organizations. I just want to show them for what they really are. I am giving them an opportunity to do something now. I realize that they will do nothing because those who currently give the orders are the United States and Israel. No one listens to any oppressed or wronged person, or indeed to any person at all unless he is a follower of the United States or Israel. Even the world's laws can be changed now to accommodate Israel. We, the deportees, are the biggest proof of this. They did not heed the calls of international organizations, foreign ministers, and some moderate international media who said this is a criminal, illegal act. How can people be taken from their homes to south Lebanon without trial, conviction, or any other prior procedure? Yes, some of the deportees were formerly arrested and charges were leveled against them, but the majority were brought here without trial. Israel imagines that this act will benefit it.

In fact, as far as I am concerned, I do not take heed of any utterances by their High Court of Justice, lawyers, or judges. This is so because I know Israel well. I have lived in Palestine with the Israelis acting as rulers of our country. I know how they think, how they can fabricate matters, and how they can deceive the unjust world, which supports Israel. Concerning their claim that the deportees will be kept abroad for two years, I believe that this period will be extended another two or four years. I tell them, however, if a long time passes without our returning to Palestine, we will have a view to state that will surprise them and surprise the entire world."

Drinking Water Said Running Out

NC2412100492 Paris AFP in English 0847 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Marj al-Zuhur, Lebanon, Dec 24 (AFP)—Around 400 Palestinian deportees stranded in southern Lebanon have run out of drinking water and are falling sick with dysentery and bronchial problems, their spokesman said Thursday.

'Abd al-'Aziz al-Rantisi, a leading Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] figure, told AFP that they had run out of water Wednesday night, and were holding a one-day day fast to preserve food stocks.

"According to the prophet, it is good for Muslims to fast on Mondays and Thursdays," he said. "But our fast today has been forced on us because we have no water and want to save our food stocks."

They needed medicine to combat a growing number of cases of dysentery, caused by drinking water from a stream, and bronchial complaints brought on by the cold, he said.

Their last few jerricans of water were empty and the stream had turned muddy because of rain, correspondents reported Thursday.

The 406 deportees were huddled in their tents, away from a freezing wind, and held none of their usual morning gatherings around cups of tea.

They have spent seven nights in a no-man's-land between the Israeli-held "security zone" and the Lebanese army since being expelled from the occupied territories for having links with the radical Hamas and Islamic Jihad organisations.

The Lebanese government has refused to accept the deportees, and barred relief agencies from delivering aid via territory under its control.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) negotiated all day Wednesday with Israel and Lebanon to bring the deportees drinking water.

Food supplies have also run short and must be replenished in three days, UNRWA coordinator Frank de Jonge said.

ICRC chief delegate in Lebanon, Bernard Pfefferle, said negotiations were underway with all parties and said it was possible that aid might be shipped via the Israeli "security zone," just south of the camp.

The deportees' plight and the future of the Middle East peace talks were to be discussed at a meeting of Arab leaders in Cairo on Thursday.

Birri on Government, Chamber Position on Deportation

NC2312145192 Shanayh Voice of the Mountain in Arabic 1000 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] During their weekly meeting today, President Ilyas al-Hirawi and Chamber of Deputies Speaker Nabih Birri discussed developments, particularly those pertaining to the issue of the deportees. Birri said after the meeting that the government's and President al-Hirawi's position is that there will be no going back on the government's rejection of the expulsion of a people from their land to the land of others. Birri said: This crime, in the view of the Chamber of Deputies and the people, is designed to suppress the intifadah and resettle the Palestinians in Lebanon, both of which are rejected. Therefore, we reaffirm the Lebanese position and emphasize our praise and support for the intifadah in Palestine and the resistance in the south, because this is the natural and correct response to black Israel's schemes.

Birri added: The Lebanese Government, President al-Hirawi, Prime Minister al-Hariri, and Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz held contacts to convene an urgent meeting of the foreign ministers of the Arab states or the cordon states. We also held contacts on the parliamentary level with the Syrian People's Assembly speaker and some speakers of Arab parliaments. Agreement was reached to convene a conference in Cairo within the next 48 hours of the Arab Inter- Parliamentary Union to discuss the issue and adopt a unified position.

Cabinet May Deploy Army in Southern Suburb

NC2412071492 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0615 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] During its session on 28 December, the Cabinet is expected to adopt a decision to deploy the Army in the Southern Suburb to follow up on a previous decision made by former Prime Minister 'Umar Karami. The decision provides for the deployment of the Army throughout Lebanese territory.

It is worth mentioning that President Ilyas al-Hirawi and Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri have paved the way for the deployment by holding exchanges with the Syrian leadership. It has been agreed that the deployment should not be implemented in a provocative manner and should not involve the demolition of buildings.

It has been reported that the deployment issue was raised during the recent meeting between Syrian Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam and a Hizballah delegation led by Secretary General Hasan Nasrallah in Damascus. The same issue was also discussed by Prime Minister al-Hariri and a Hizballah delegation.

Hizballah Deputies, al-Hirawi Meet

NC2412083292 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed in Arabic 0630 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Local press sources say that the Cabinet, in its meeting on 28 December, will decide to deploy the Army in Beirut's southern suburb. This will follow up on a previous decision made by 'Umar Karami's government providing for Army deployment in all Lebanese territory except for certain areas adjacent to the occupied border strip.

In this respect, President Ilyas al-Hirawi met with Hizballah Deputies Muhammad Yaghi and Muhammad Funaysh last night. They discussed the situation in general and the affairs of the southern suburb in particular.

Following the meeting, Deputy Yaghi said: We support the development of the southern suburb and the rehabilitation of service facilities but without this causing any population displacement or demographic changes. He added: We are not against any project on this basis; on the contrary, we support it.

Press Urges Sanctions on Israel Over Deportation

JN2312161192 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0545 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Press review]

[Text] The newspaper TISHRIN condemns Rabin's claims that when confronted with an escalation in the Palestinian intifadah, he had no choice but to either step up his repression or deport Palestinians, and that he preferred deportations to stepped up repression. TISHRIN says that this excuse is flimsy and cannot hold water.

Elaborating on this, the paper adds: It is the Israeli prime minister who ordered an escalation in the campaign of repression. It is Rabin who ordered his planes to raid southern Lebanon and drop their flames over villages, towns, and camps there. Indeed, it is Rabin himself who announced the Israeli strategy, which provides for stepping up acts of violence against the Arabs of the occupied territories and conducting negotiations in Washington at the same time.

TISHRIN goes on to say: The fact that has been shown to all observers is that the Washington negotiations were only meant to serve as a cover for Israeli efforts to strike at the Palestinian people's resistance, quash their intifadah, and force them to leave the occupied territories en masse. The evidence that we advance to corroborate our argument in this regard is that the Israeli negotiating team has thwarted all the initiatives and proposals made to advance the peace process and ensure progress along the path to a just and comprehensive settlement of the explosive regional conflict.

TISHRIN says: Rabin does not want peace. He wants the occupied Arab territories, but without their populations. This is because he aspires to the creation of a purely Jewish state, because there can be no security nor stability for the occupation authorities as long as the Palestinian Arab people continue to live on their national soil and homeland. The deportation decision is part of the attempts to empty the occupied territories of their dwellers. Rabin sought to sound out the views of the world public in general, and the American people in particular, over the possible eviction of Palestinians from their territories. However, the U.S. reaction disappointed Rabin, because he, as he put it, did not expect such harsh and sweeping international condemnations.

TISHRIN adds: Israel does have an alternative to repression and deportations. This alternative is the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace. This is because peace is the true solution to all Middle East problems. As for Rabin and his government, and before him Shamir and all Israelis, they are well aware that occupation is the cause of all crises and problems in the region in general, and in the occupied territories in particular. It goes without saying that occupation breeds resistance. As for stepped-up repression conducted under occupation, it only creates further resistance.

Concluding its commentary, TISHRIN says: The hundreds of Palestinian deportees, who are suffering in extremely cold and frozen conditions, are providing cogent proof of the lack of any ethical standards on the part of Israel's leaders. In contrast, the deportees, in their struggle and determination to return home, epitomize the struggle of all the Palestinian people. Rabin did not deem deportation sufficient. Indeed, he ordered that the defenseless deportees be fired upon, thus eliciting the entire world's indignation and protests, causing him to lose his battle against the Palestinian people. As a matter of fact, the expulsion of Palestinians has caused them to win global sympathy. As for Israel, it has found itself isolated on the international scene.

The newspaper AL-THAWRAH comments on the same issue, saying: The Israeli Government has not only chosen to turn a deaf ear to the appeals urging the return of Palestinian deportees to their homes and children, and to ignore the deluge of statements on this issue, deeming the Israeli deportations an act that violates international norms and charters, particularly the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. Indeed, it has persisted with its crimes of bloody repression against the Arab people's masses in the occupied territories. This criminal repression reached its height on Sunday, when six Palestinians, including a girl, were martyred by the occupation troops.

AL-THAWRAH adds: Worse still, the Israeli Government, through statements made by various officials, has refused to comply with Security Council Resolution 799, unanimously adopted at dawn on Saturday, which strongly condemns the move taken by Israel, an occupying power, to deport hundreds of Palestinians, strongly opposes any such measures by Israel, and asks Israel to ensure the safe and immediate return home of all deportees.

AL-THAWRAH goes on to say: To go to excess in its disavowal of international charters and conventions, in its defiance of UN resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions, and to show the total commitment of Israeli establishments to the pursuit of an endeavor aimed at creating a legendary Greater Israel—which would be propped up by the settlement of Jewish immigrants in the occupied territories and the expulsion of Palestinians from there, which is called the collective expulsion policy, the transfer [preceding word in English] policy—the Israeli Supreme Court yesterday rejected appeals made by lawyers for the deportees, requesting that the deportees be allowed to return home, thus lending support for the deportation decision made by the Israeli Government.

Concluding its commentary, AL-THAWRAH says: To show its credibility and make Israel respect and honor its resolutions, the international community now has no choice but to invoke the provisions enshrined in Chapter Seven of the UN Charter pertaining to the imposition of multifaceted sanctions against whomever refuses to implement the resolutions of its institutions, particularly the Security Council.

India

Killings, Curfew Reported in Gujarat Capital

BK2412080692 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] In Gujarat, three persons were killed and 14 injured in fresh violence in Ahmedabad city yesterday. Quoting official sources, our Ahmedabad correspondent reports that police opened fire and lobbed tear gas shells to disperse a violent mob in Gomatipur area. Indefinite curfew in Kagrapeeth police station area, except Kankaria police chowki [post], has been imposed from this morning. Indefinite curfew imposed yesterday continues in Dariapur, Kalupur, Sahapur, Karanj, and Haveli police station areas. The situation is reported to be under control.

BJP Demands 'Open' Ayodhya, Early Elections

BK2312163992 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] has demanded early elections in the four states where the BJP governments were dismissed in the wake of the Ayodhya incidents. Addressing an emergency meeting of the BJP National Executive in New Delhi today, the party vice president, Mr. Sundar Singh Bhandari, criticised the Human Resource Development Minister Mr. Arjun Singh's remarks on elections in these states, saying that they transgressed the rights of parliament. He demanded that the disputed site at Ayodhya be thrown open for worship.

President's Rule in 4 States Approved

BK2312123492 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1135 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Parliament has approved the imposition of president's rule in four states of Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan. The Lok Sabha approved the statutory resolutions in this regard by a voice vote today which has already been passed by the Rajya Sabha. The four BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]-ruled state governments were dismissed in the wake of Ayodhya developments. Earlier, the BJP walked out and the house witnessed two adjournments as they obstructed proceedings, demanding an assurance from the government that worship will be allowed at the disputed site in Ayodhya.

The home minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, replying to the debate, said a decision in this regard has to be taken by the Uttar Pradesh government. Appealing to the members not to further complicate the already difficult situation, he assured them that he will take up the matter with the state government.

Government, Congress-I Faulted in Gandhi Murder

BK2312123992 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1135 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] The Verma Commission, which inquired into assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, has indicted the Tamil Nadu and the central governments and Congress-I workers for the breakdown in security arrangements which led to his killing at Sriperumbudur by a human bomb on the 21st of May last year. In its two-volume report tabled in parliament today, the commission held the Tamil Nadu police force responsible for failure to provide the requisite proximate security to Rajiv Gandhi and prevent access of the human bomb near him. The commission headed by Mr. Justice J.S. Verma said the Intelligence Bureau failed to share fully the entire intelligence information available to it to give the required intelligence backup to the Tamil Nadu police force for a more effective operation on security requirements. It said the Center's decision to withdraw the Special Protection Group, SPG, cover to Rajiv Gandhi without providing a suitable alternative and its failure to discharge its obligation of greater interaction and direction to the Tamil Nadu government during the president's rule for his security were contributory lapses. The commission also said that the Congress-I party men at the venue and the party candidate showed a total lack of awareness of their obligation to cooperate with the police force. It said their intransigence created impediments in effective access control necessary for Rajiv Gandhi's security.

The Home Ministry which also tabled a memorandum of action taken on the report of the commission, however, did not share some of the findings of the commission on the lapses attributed to the central government and the intelligence bureau. It said the SPG cover provided to Rajiv Gandhi ceased to be available to him after he demitted the office as per the provisions of the act. It said the alternative security cover prescribed for him was comprehensive and adequate to meet the perceived high level of threat.

Pakistan

Assembly Resolution on Destruction of Mosque

BK2412113592 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1100 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] The National Assembly today unanimously adopted a resolution expressing its deep anguish over the demolition of Babri Masjid [mosque] by Hindu fanatics and urged the Indian Government to take effective steps for the protection of Muslims and reconstruction of Babri Masjid at its original site. The resolution was adopted after a three-day debate on a motion by the minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr. Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanjoo, on the demolition of the Babri Masjid and killing of Muslims in India. It urged the

government to seek support and assistance of international community to take effective and collective steps to rebuild the masjid and provide guarantees on protection of fundamental rights of Muslims in India in accordance with the international declaration and norms of civilized behavior. While regretting the damage caused to the places of worship of minorities in Pakistan by the people protesting against the demolition of Babri Masjid, it called upon the government to repair them and extend compensation to the affectees.

Mr. Hamza of IJI [Islami Jamhoori Itehad], while presenting the resolution, said it has been drafted in consultation and with complete agreement of the IJI, PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], JI [Jamaat-i-Islami], minority members, and other groups represented in the National Assembly. The house will now meet on Sunday afternoon.

The Senate today began discussion on the situation arising out of the demolition of Babri Masjid by Hindu extremists at Ayodhya. Initiating the debate, the leader of the house, Mr. Mohammad Ali Khan, condemned the heinous act of demolition of Babri Masjid. He said demolition of the masjid is a deep-rooted conspiracy with full connivance of the Indian Government. He suggested that a meeting of the ICO [Islamic Conference Organization] should be convened to discuss the possibilities of severing diplomatic, economic, and trade links with India, and impose an oil embargo.

Taking part in the debate, Professor Khurshid Ahmad of Jamaat-i- Islami proposed setting up of an international committee to force India to reconstruct the masjid. He said both the government and the opposition should adopt a joint strategy to keep the issue alive at national and international level. The house will now meet on Sunday afternoon.

'About 1,300' Pakistanis Deported From UAE

BK2312[illegible] Islamabad PTV Television Network in English 1400 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] The issue of Pakistani deportees from UAE [United Arab Emirates] was discussed at a meeting between the minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr. Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanjoo, and the UAE ambassador in Islamabad today. A Foreign Office spokesman told a briefing that so far about 1,300 Pakistanis have been deported by the UAE authorities following riots in the UAE town at (Al-Ayen) on the 8th of this month. These Pakistanis were residing in the UAE without proper legal documents. The spokesman said the UAE ambassador assured the minister of state for foreign affairs that the action being taken by the UAE would be limited to those foreign nationals, including Pakistanis, who were residing without proper documents. He said a total 230,000 Pakistanis are residing in the UAE. Replying to a question, the spokesman said that besides Pakistanis, deportees from the UAE include Indians and Bangladeshis.

Opposition Asked To Make 'Realistic' Demands

BK2412090492 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 0200 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Elahi Bux Soomro, the federal minister for science and technology, has said that the democratic and constitutional ways are open for the opposition to bring about its desired political changes. Addressing a news conference in Islamabad, the minister, who is also a member of the government team for negotiations with the opposition, called on the People's Democratic Alliance to make just and realistic demands. He said: We are always ready to sit together with them and listen to their viewpoints on any national issue.

About the repeal of reference cases against Benazir Bhutto and others, the minister said the issue should be resolved through the courts and not through pressure tactics. The federal minister described as erroneous the impression that the recently promulgated ordinance is designed to take vindictive action against any single individual.